



*J. Hayman inv. et delin.*

*C. Grignon sculp.*

*POMPEY when Consul, passing Review  
and leading his Horse before the Censors.*

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THE  
ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE  
FOUNDATION of ROME  
TO THE  
BATTLE of ACTIUM:

THAT IS,  
To the End of the COMMONWEALTH.

VOL. XI.

By Mr CREVIER, *Professor of Rhetorick in  
the College of Beauvais, being the Continuation of  
Mr ROLLIN's Work.*

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MDCCLIV.

# To the R E A D E R.

I N the 342d page of the preceding Volume an error has escaped me through inadvertency, of which one of my friends and learned Fellow-Collegiates has apprized me. Speaking of the age of Cæsar, in the beginning of his intrigue with Servilia, I say, that he was only eighteen years old, when that lady's husband was killed. That date does not agree with the others, which I have followed concerning Cæsar's age, and is not exact in itself. For if he was in his fifty-sixth year, in the 708th year of Rome, when he was killed, as Suetonius informs us, he was in his twenty-third in 675, when Servilia's husband was put to death by Pompey's order. Thus instead of these words in the 342d page of Vol. X, "He had given into this course  
" very early, as he had an intrigue with Servilia, Cato's sister, and Brutus's mother, in  
" the life-time of her husband, who was killed, when Cæsar was only eighteen years  
" old," it should be said: "*In his earliest  
" youth he had an intrigue with Servilia, Cato's  
" sister, and Brutus's mother, and riper years  
" did not put an end to it.*"

# LIST of the Names of the CONSULS and YEARS contained in this Volume.

A. R. 678. L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.

Ant. C. 74. M. AURELIUS COTTA.

A. R. 679. M. TERENTIUS VARRO LUCULLUS.

Ant. C. 73. C. CASSIUS VARUS.

A. R. 680. L. GELLIUS POPLICOLA.

Ant. C. 72. CN. CORN. LENTULUS CLODIANUS.

A. R. 681. CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES.

Ant. C. 71. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SURA.

A. R. 682. CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS.

Ant. C. 70. M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

A. R. 683. Q. HORTENSIVS.

Ant. C. 69. Q. CÆCILIVS METELLVS, afterwards  
surnamed CRETICVS.

A. R. 684. L. CÆCILIVS METELLVS.

Ant. C. 68. Q. MARCIUS REX.

A. R. 685. C. CALPURNIVS PISO.

Ant. C. 67. M. ACILIVS GLABRIO.

A. R. 686. M. ÆMILIVS LEPIDVS.

Ant. C. 66. L. VOLCATIVS TULLVS.

A. R. 687. L. AURELIUS COTTA.

Ant. C. 65. L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

A. R. 688. L. JULIVS CÆSAR.

Ant. C. 64. C. MARCIUS FIGVLVS.

A. R. 689. M. TULLIVS CICERO.

Ant. C. 63. C. ANTONIVS.

A. R. 690. D. JUNIVS SILANVS.

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*Several*



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 BOOK THE THIRTY FIFTH.
 

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THE

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*Disposition of Mithridates and the Romans in respect to the war. Mithridates exercises himself by various expeditions Trigranes, in concert with him, invades Cappadocia. Mithridates declares himself openly, on the occasion of the Will of Nicomedes, which gives Bithynia to the Romans. Preparations of Mithridates, more judiciously made than in the preceding wars. Beginnings of Lucullus. His father and mother. His knowledge in the Arts and all the branches of polite Learning. His military*

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tary capacity. His disposition and virtues. He checks a seditious Tribune of the People. He receives the command of the war against Mithridates is conferred upon himself. His Colleague Cotta is sent into Bithynia. Lucullus reforms the mutinous disposition of his troops. He redresses the cities of Asia, oppressed by the Roman Tax-farmers. Cotta is defeated by Mithridates. Lucullus marches to the aid of his colleague. He declines a battle, and endeavours to undermine the enemy. Mithridates decamps and marches to besiege Cyzicum. Lucullus follows him. Siege of Cyzicum. Famine in the army of Mithridates. Flight of that Prince. Disaster of his army. All Bithynia reconquered, except Nicomedia, in which Mithridates is shut up. Lucullus in two battles destroys a fleet sent by Mithridates into Italy. Mithridates retires into his kingdom. He makes himself Master of Heraclea on his way. Lucullus pursues him, and carries the war into his dominions. He causes Amisus and Hipateria to be blocked up. Murmurs of his soldiers. His reasons for giving Mithridates time to assemble a new army. Noble spirit of a Roman Officer, a prisoner, and generosity of Mithridates in respect to him. Accidental battle, in which Mithridates has some advantage. Lucullus in danger of being assassinated by a Deserter. Two battles, in which the Romans are victorious. Consternation of Mithridates's troops, and flight of that Prince. He escapes with great difficulty, and takes refuge in Armenia. Ports and castles of Mithridates delivered up to Lucullus. Prisoners of State set at liberty. Death of Roxana and Statira, sisters of Mithridates. Death  
of





*of Berenice, one of that Prince's wives. Death of Monima. Lucullus returns to the sieges of Eupatoria and Amisus. Taking of those two cities. Generosity of Lucullus in respect to the city and inhabitants of Amisus. The Grammarian Tyrannion taken prisoner, and made free by Murena.*

## THIRD WAR OF MITHRIDATES.

**M**ithridates (a) had already made peace *Disposition* twice with the Romans, but without *of Mithri-* ever renouncing the design of making war *ates and* with them: nor had the Romans more pa- *the Romans* cific intentions on their side. On both sides *in respect* the treaties of peace were, properly speaking, *to the war,* only intervals, and short times of repose, given to the necessity of their affairs, 'till they found occasion and force for beginning again.

However, after the war with Murena, Mi-Asian: thridates took measures that seemed to argue Mithrid: a design to cement the peace and to render it durable. He had no written treaty either with Sylla or Murena. He sent in consequence Ambassadors to Rome, to demand a Decree of the Senate to authorize what had been stipulated between him and the Roman Generals, and to establish the conditions of peace in an authentic manner. But Ariobarzanes had also sent Ambassadors to Rome, to complain, that Cappadocia had not been entirely restored to him; and that Mithridates still retained the greatest part of it. Syl-

(a) Mithridates omne tempus, non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparati-

onem novi contulit. Cicero pro lege Manil. n. 9.



# 4 THIRD WAR of MITHRIDATES.

la, who was then Dictator, having heard the Ambassadors of the two Kings, decreed, that Mithridates should previously to all things entirely evacuate Cappadocia, as had been agreed. The King of Pontus obeyed, and sent a new embassy finally to conclude the affair of the treaty. Sylla was dead ; and the Romans were so much engrossed by their intestine troubles and divisions, that the Ambassadors of Mithridates could not have audience of the Senate. They returned in consequence without answer to their master, who was not sorry to have that pretext for accusing the Romans of being averse to concluding, and of seeking occasion to renew, the war.

*Mithridates exercises himself by making war against different nations on the borders of Phasis and Caucasus, and also with the People of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, whom he subjected, and to whom he gave his son Machares for King. He believed himself therefore in a condition to take advantage of the difficulty, into which the war of Lepidus, and afterwards that of Sertorius, had thrown the Commonwealth. But he took care at first not to appear himself ; and made Tigranes act, who having entered Cappadocia,*

*Mithridates declares himself open upon occasion of the illness of Nicomedes* Cappadocia, took it in a manner as with the single sweep of a net, ruined twelve Grecian cities in it, and carried off the inhabitants to the number of three hundred thousand, for peopling his favourite city Tigranocerta.

About this time died Nicomedes King of Bithynia, who by his will made the Roman People his heir : a new subject of quarrel with Mithridates, whose ambition had long

formed

formed designs of seizing that Kingdom, and could by no means digest the possession of it, by the Romans. They however made themselves masters of it; and M. Junius Silanus, Proconsul of Asia, of whom we have spoken on the occasion of the Pirates taken by Cæsar, had orders to go to Bithynia, and to reduce it into a Roman Province.

It was at this time Mithridates threw off the *Prepara-* mask; and having sent the famous embassy to *tions of* Sertorius, of which we have treated elsewhere, *Mithri-* he undertook his third war against the Romans, *dates more* with still greater confidence than the two for- *judiciously* mer; because his preparations, if not greater, *made than* were at least more judiciously made. For in *in the pre-* the first war they had more of pomp and shew *vious.* than real force: his troops made a fine appear- *Piet. in* ance to the eye, but were contemptible in all *Luc* respects but that of empty splendour. His bad *Appian.* success had taught him better; and on the pre- *Memnon.* sent occasion he confined himself to the solid *apud hot.* and essential. Instead of that innumerable multitude of Barbarians of different nations and languages, whose confused cries and howlings could only terrify the soft Asiatics; and instead of arms glittering with gold and precious stones, which were rather rich spoils for the victors, than of defence to those who wore them, he raised an hundred and twenty thousand good troops, formed into legions after the Roman manner, and gave them swords like those of the Romans, with thick and strong bucklers. To these troops of foot he added sixteen thousand cavalry, whose horses were strong and well exercised, rather than superbly adorned; and an hundred cars or waggons armed with scythes. Add to these a prodigious number of servants, pioneers, sut-

lers, and other people necessary to so great an army : The whole, together, amounting to above three hundred thousand men. He also fitted out a fleet of four hundred sail in the same taste ; that is to say, his ships were no longer adorned with gilt cabins, and magnificent chambers and baths for his wives and concubines ; but full of arms defensive and offensive, and manned with brave soldiers. And lastly, he amassed vast quantities of provisions, and distributed above nine millions of bushels of corn into different magazines along the coasts. With these preparations he attacked Bithynia at the same time by sea and land, after having endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the gods, by offering a sacrifice to Jupiter, the arbiter of war, according to the customary rites, and by causing a set of white heaves to be thrown into the sea in honour of Neptune. The Romans sent the two Consuls M. Cotta and L. Lucullus against him, with orders for the one to defend Bithynia, and for the other to oppose Mithridates, and to carry the war into his Kingdom. But before we enter into the detail of their actions, I conceive it not amiss to make the reader more particularly acquainted with Lucullus, who is upon the point of making a most shining figure in our History.

*Begin  
a new  
Lucullus  
his father  
and mother  
Plat.*

That illustrious Roman was not indebted to domestic examples for the virtues, which have done him so much honour. His father, who had been Prætor in Sicily, had been accused and condemned for the crime of extortion ; and the first action of note, that distinguished Lucullus, and in a very honourable manner, was that whilst very young, he in his turn accused Servillus his father's accuser. His mother, who

was

was of the family of the Metelli, and sister of Metellus Numidicus, added no lustre to the blood from which he descended by the prudence of her conduct. Lucullus is only the more commendable on that account, for having preserved himself from the contagion of vice, which lived in a manner under the same roof, and offered itself to him with a kind of authority.

Like most of the great persons of his time, *His know-* he united arms with letters, the Art military *ledge in* with the study of polite learning. And to be- *the Arts* gin with the latter article, (a) Cicero in the *and all the* strongest terms extols the greatness of his genius, *branches* his ardour for study, and the extent of his know- *of polite* ledge: and he affirms, that not only in his *Learning.* earlier years, and whilst at Rome, but during his Quæstorship in Greece and Asia, and even when he was charged with the war against Mithridates, at a time when military occupations seem not to leave a General a moment's leisure, he studied very much, especially Philosophy, and had a famous Philosopher with him, called Antichus, in whose conversation he used to unbend himself from his military fatigues. With this ardour he had the advantage of an excellent memory, and still greater for things, than words; which makes Cicero with reason prefer his memory to that of Hortensius, who was more happy in respect of words than things. Lucullus in consequence comprehending with

(a) Magnum ingenium L. mine nobili ab eo percepta  
Luculli. magnamque opti- doctrina. Cic. Acad. L. IV.  
mam Artium studium, tam n. 1.  
omnis liberalis & digna ho-



ease, and retaining all that he had once learnt, had a mind extremely adorned and enlarged, though not so entirely engrossed by such matters, as one who makes Letters his profession. Plutarch adds, that Philosophy, which had served Lucullus for recreation during the tumult of affairs, became his consolation and resource, when old-age, and still more disgust, had induced him to renounce the administration of the Commonwealth. But that Historian further gives a particular account of Lucullus's literary talents, that merits a place here.

He not only ascribes to him an eloquence proper for public transactions; but praises him as equally capable of writing and speaking in the Greek and Roman languages. Sylla, who had the same attributes, had so high an esteem for the merit of Lucullus in this respect, that he inscribed his Commentaries to him, as materials, which by passing through his hands, would receive a better form, than he was capable of giving them himself. Lucullus had also composed the History of the war with the Marfi in Greek: and that work owes it's being to a wager, of which it were to be wished that our modern Nobility would give us many examples. Whilst he was very young, jesting with the Orator Hortensius and the Historian Sisenna, he engaged to write that History, either in Greek or Latin, verse or prose, according as lots should determine. Such games do not hurt the fortune, and highly exalt the reputation.

*Military  
capacity  
of Lucul-  
lus.*

As to what regards military knowledge, Cicero informs us, much was not expected in that way from Lucullus before his Consulship; he even adds, that he had not had occasions for acquiring it. And lastly, he does not fear to  
advance,



advance, that Lucullus (*a*) having employed the whole time of his journey from Rome to Asia in reading Histories, and instructing himself by asking the old warriors questions, he arrived in Asia an accomplished General, though he had set out from Rome with little or no experience in war. But we must ask pardon in this place, for giving some restriction to the too strong expressions of Cicero. Who will believe, that a man, solely by reading and conversation could become a General, and one worthy of the admiration of Mithridates, who declared, that in all he had ever read, he had never met with one instance of so great a Captain as Lucullus? *Plut.* And in reality it is certain, that Lucullus, after having served in the war of the Allies with abundance of distinction, made his first entrance into command under a great master, when he was Sylla's Quæstor. Whilst he was in that employment, he even commanded in chief the Fleet he had been ordered to assemble; and he fought several battles, in which he always came off victorious. It may however be said, that Lucullus would not have had occasions enough for signalizing himself by arms, upon which to found the expectation of such great actions as he performed in war, if by his great talents united to study, he had not supplied what he still wanted on the side of experience.

The character of Lucullus would be imperfect, if we should omit to speak of the qualities *His disposition and virtues.*

(*a*) Incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit — usûs disciplinam. Itaque quum totum iter & navigationem consumpsisset, partim in percunctando à pe-

ritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis, in Asiam factus imperator venit, quum esset Româ profectus rei militaris rudis. *Cic. ib. n. 2.*

of his heart, which in him was most generous and noble, and consequently entirely inclined to beneficence. The constant and perfect friendship that always subsisted, as I have said elsewhere, between him and his brother, is highly for the praise of both. His fidelity to Sylla, and the Aristocratical party, argues a solid and elevated genius. And as to what regards money, he obliterated that paternal disgrace by an integrity above all suspicion. He indeed acquired great riches by the war; but it was at the expence of the enemies of the Commonwealth. The Allies never had any reason but to praise his government. Asia, both during his Quæstorship, and afterwards when he commanded in chief as Proconsul, saw him so remote from committing any kind of rapine, that he even severely punished the oppressions of the rapacious Tax-Farmers; and in the same manner after his Prætorship he governed Africa with great justice. Before all this, he had given proofs of disinterestedness, when appointed by Sylla to form a fleet for him, he went to Egypt to demand Ships of Ptolomy Lathyrus. That Prince received him with extreme magnificence, and for his expences assigned him four times as much, as it had been the custom to give foreign Ministers. Lucullus accepted only meer necessaries, and refused the presents the King offered him, which were to the value of fourscore talents. And lastly, at his departure, when Ptolomy presented him with an emerald set in gold, he would have excused himself for not accepting it; and only complied at last, because that Prince observed to him, that it was his own head which was engraved upon the stone: so that Lucullus, who had not ob-

tained

*About*  
12000 l.  
*sterling.*

tained the aid he demanded, was afraid of seeming discontented, and of being treated in consequence as an enemy.

This is the most important of what is come down to us concerning Lucullus 'till his Consulship.

L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.

M. AURELIUS COTTA.

A R 678.

Ant. C.

74.

Lucullus did nothing considerable in the city, except checking the Tribune L. Quintius, who had undertaken to raise the Tribunitian power from the State of humiliation, to which Sylla had reduced it. The Consul publicly rose up against him; he even made remonstrances to him in particular; and at length prevailed upon that seditious Tribune to be quiet, and to suffer the Commonwealth to enjoy some tranquillity.

*Lucullus checks a seditious Tribune of the People.*

Every thing being thus at peace within doors, he had only to think of causing the command of the war against Mithridates to be conferred upon him. The Provinces of the Consuls were already fixed, and Gallia Cisalpina had fallen to him; a Province, in which there was no glory to be acquired. In these circumstances the news came to Rome, that the government of Cilicia was vacant by the death of L. Octavius, who had succeeded Servilius Isauricus in it. This was a fair occasion for Lucullus; for as Cappadocia adjoins to Cilicia, if he obtained that province, the war against Mithridates became a natural consequence of it. But he had a great obstacle to overcome.

*He causes the command of the war with Mithridates to be conferred upon himself.*

A.R. 678. One Cethegus, who is scarce known for any  
 Ant. C. thing in History, except seeming to have been  
 74. the same deserter from Marius's party, who  
 Vol. X. has been mentioned above, had made him-  
 self infinitely powerful at Rome, by soothing  
 the multitude, and studying every thing which  
 might conduce to that effect. Lucullus had  
 not spared this man, whom he equally despi-  
 sed and hated, as a factious, insolent, aban-  
 doned miscreant. He was however reduced  
 to have recourse to his credit in the design he  
 had formed of obtaining Cilicia; and to deal  
 with baseness in it's own way, he made his ge-  
 nerous spirit submit so low as to pay court to  
 the mistress of Cethegus: so much can ambi-  
 tion debase and degrade the most lofty and  
 virtuous Souls. That woman whose name  
 was Precia, reigned absolutely then in the ci-  
 ty; because nothing was done in it but by  
 Cethegus, and there was no access to him  
 but through Precia. Lucullus made her pre-  
 sents, besides which it was highly soothing to  
 a vain and arrogant woman, to see a Consul,  
 and such a person as Lucullus, depend upon  
 her and implore her protection. She there-  
 fore was much pleased, and thought it an ho-  
 nour to serve him. The province of Cilicia  
 was given to Lucullus by the People; and as  
 he had foreseen he was in consequence char-  
 ged with the war against Mithridates. His  
 colleague however was desirous to share in that  
 employment with him, and caused himself to be  
 sent by the Senate with a fleet to guard the  
 Propontis, and to defend Bithynia.

*Cotta his  
colleague  
is sent into  
Bithynia.*

*Lucullus  
reforms the  
mutinous  
disposition  
of his  
troops.*

Lucullus carried only one legion from Ita-  
 ly. He found four in Asia, which formed  
 him an army of thirty thousand foot and six-  
 teen



teen hundred horse. This was no considerable number of troops. But of the four legions, who were upon the spot before him, there were two who gave him a great deal of trouble. These were those of Fimbria, who had formerly killed Flaccus their General, and had afterwards betrayed Fimbria himself; all of them brave soldiers, experienced in war, and enured to fatigues; but intractable, seditious, and accustomed not to obey their Commanders, but to be humoured by them. Lucullus made them sensible for the first time of what it was to have a General: he reduced them to their duty, and had the address to render them submissive and obedient to command. We shall however see in the sequel, that these very troops will prevent him from completing his victories, and tear the fruit of them out of his hands by sedition.

To prevent the cities of Asia from revolting, was another care that greatly engrossed him at first. That Province, condemned by Sylla, to pay excessive sums, and racked by the Publicans and Usurers, found the Roman yoke insupportable; and on arrival of Mithridates, the people were again universally inclined in his favour, as a deliverer. Lucullus began to remedy this evil, as much as the occasions of the war which called him elsewhere, would admit. He moderated the oppressions of the officers, 'till he could entirely expel those *Harpies*, as Plutarch calls them, which he did some time after. He acquired the love of the States by his beneficence and equity. Asia continued quiet, and left him at liberty to march without fear to the aid of his colleague.

Cotta

A.R. 678.

Ant. C.

74.

*Cotta is  
defeated  
by Mithri-  
dates.*

Appian.

Memnon.

Flut.

Cotta was in very great danger, into which he had brought himself by his imprudence. Being arrived in Bithynia, and finding Mithridates there, who had made his army enter that Kingdom, he was for engrossing the glory of reducing the enemy to himself. He believed the affairs that kept Lucullus in the province of Asia, a favourable circumstance, of which it was necessary to take the advantage for securing him a triumph. But being as deficient in the execution, as he was rash in the design, he suffered himself to be defeated near Chalcedon both by sea and land in one day, and lost in those two unfortunate actions four thousand Romans, and above sixty ships. In consequence he was obliged to shut himself up within the walls of Chalcedon, where he had no resource but in him, whom he had intended to deprive of the honour of the victory.

*Lucullus**marches to  
the aid of  
his col-  
league.*

Many perswaded Lucullus not to march that way, but to turn his arms towards Pontus, which, as they said, he would find without soldiers and defenceless. But Mithridates had left troops there under the command of Diophantus, in case of insult. This however was not the motive, that determined Lucullus. Knowing that his army murmured very much, and were entirely incensed, that Cotta should not only have ruined himself by his temerity, but deprived them of the advantage of conquering without striking a blow, Lucullus assembled them, and declared to them, *that he had rather save a single Roman citizen from danger, than conquer all the dominions of Mithridates.* Words highly worthy of a great soul, and which express the true taste of solid glory! Archelaus, who, as we have said, had gone

over

over to the Romans during the war with Mithridates. A.R. 678.  
 Mithridates, was particularly earnest with Lucullus; Ant. C.  
 assuring him, that he would no sooner appear 74.  
 in Pontus, but all would give way before him.  
 But the Consul made answer, "That he should  
 not act more timorously than hunters, and  
 leave the prey to run to the empty den."  
 He accordingly advanced towards Bithynia;  
 that march had it's effect. Mithridates left  
 Chalcedon and Cotta, and advanced to meet  
 Lucullus, whom he joined near Otryæ a city  
 of Phrygia.

The Romans, considering the number of the enemy, thought it necessary to avoid a battle, and protract the war. In the mean time M. Marius, whom Sertorius had sent from Spain to Mithridates in quality of Proconsul, having advanced near the camp of Lucullus, in order to draw on a battle, the latter would not refuse the defiance. But when they were just upon the point of engaging, a surprizing phænomenon prevented them. On a sudden the sky seemed to open, and a great mass of fire fell between the two armies, in form resembling a tun, and in colour melted silver in a blaze. This appearance, which was taken for a prodigy, terrified the two armies, and they separated as if by consent. *He declines a battle, and endeavours to undermine the enemy.*

For the rest, Lucullus constantly pursued his scheme, convinced that no magazines, nor riches, could suffice long to support almost three hundred thousand men, that Mithridates had with him, in the presence of an enemy's army. In order to act with the greater certainty, he caused a prisoner to be brought to him, and asked him, how many comrades he had in his mess, and what quantity of corn he had left in his tent.

A R. 678. tent. He examined a second in the same man-  
 Ant. C. ner, and then a third; and comparing their  
 74. answers together, he discovered, that in three  
 or four days Mithridates would be in want  
 of provisions. In consequence he was the more  
 confirmed in the resolution he had taken to  
 gain time; and took care to cause provisions  
 to be brought into his camp from all sides,  
 in order to enable himself to wait in quiet and  
 with abundance, 'till the enemy should be obliged  
 by famine to retire.

*Mithri- That soon happened : Mithridates, reduced*  
*dates de-* to decamp, set down before Cyzicum, an im-  
*camp, and* portant city, and one of the keys of Asia. He  
*goes to be-* expected to carry it with ease, because the Cy-  
*sege Cyzi-* zicenians had received a considerable blow in  
*cam. Lu-* the naval battle of Chalcedon, where they had  
*cullus fol-* lost three thousand men and ten ships. The  
*lows him.* King of Pontus concealed his march from Lu-  
 cullus with address, having set out during a very  
 dark and rainy night. He arrived at Cyzicum  
 without interruption; and all that the Roman  
 General could do, was to incamp at a small di-  
 stance from him on an eminence, where he was  
 at once in safety from any insults of the enemy,  
 and at hand to cut off his provisions.

*City of The city of Cyzicum, which was one of the*  
*Cyzicum.* finest and most important of Asia, was situated  
*Strab. L.* in an island of the Propontis, about twenty  
*XII. 575* leagues in circumference. That island is so  
 near the main land of Asia, that it was joined  
 to it by two bridges. The Cyzicenians, a Co-  
 lony of Miletus, were a courageous and indu-  
 strious People. Strabo compares them for vigi-  
 lance, activity, and good government, to the  
 People of Rhodes, Marseilles, and Carthage.  
 Their city was not only adorned with fine build-  
 ings,



ings, but well fortified ; and a wise government A.R. 678.  
 was careful to keep it always provided with all Ant. C.  
 things necessary for a good defence. Two ar- 74.  
 senals, the one filled with arms, and the other  
 with machines of war, and great magazines, in  
 which ample provision of grain was always kept,  
 enabled Cyzicum to make a long resistance,  
 whatever enemy set down before it. The be-  
 sieging of this city was therefore no small enter-  
 prize for Mithridates ; and the two circum-  
 stances of the approach of the winter, and the  
 presence of an enemy's army, greatly augmented  
 the difficulty. But the King of Pontus, relying  
 upon the multitude of his forces by sea and land,  
 believed, that nothing could resist him. He  
 formed ten camps by land round the place ; and  
 by sea made his fleet shut up the two extremities  
 of the strait, that separated the island from the  
 continent.

Lucullus was not terrified by these immense Plot.  
 preparations ; and founding his opinion upon Appian.  
 the impossibility of subsisting so great an army,  
 he considered himself secure of victory with-  
 out drawing his sword, and even ventured to  
 promise as much to his soldiers. The Cyzi-  
 ceniens seconded this view wonderfully, by the  
 valour with which they sustained the siege.  
 One thing only alarmed them, which was  
 their having no news of the Roman General.  
 They could see his camp, which, as we have  
 said, was situated on an eminence. But the  
 enemy made them believe, that it was that  
 of the Armenians and Medes, sent by Tigranes  
 to the aid of Mithridates. Lucullus did not  
 leave the Cyziceniens long in this perplexity,  
 and caused advices of him to be carried to  
 them by a dexterous and brave soldier, who

A.R. 673. made use of a singular invention for passing  
 Ant. C. the arm of the sea. He made a kind of  
 74. float, composed of a light plank and two  
 skins or borachios filled with wind, that sup-  
 ported it. Those two skins were kept down  
 by two pieces of wood, that extended from  
 one to the other, and held them at due di-  
 stance. The courier sitting upon his float,  
 and guiding it with his feet, had at a distance  
 more the air of a sea-monster than of a man.  
 His figure in effect deceived the enemy's ships,  
 which he took care not to approach too much ;  
 and in that manner he successfully crossed two  
 leagues of the sea.

His presence and even the letters of Lucul-  
 lus did not entirely dispel the fears of the be-  
 sieged. They apprehended a design to con-  
 sole them by an imposture. At the same in-  
 stant arrived a little boy, who had been ta-  
 ken prisoner by the troops of Mithridates,  
 and had afterwards escaped. They asked him  
 where Lucullus was ; on which the child be-  
 gan to laugh, as if they jeered him. But  
 when he found, they talked seriously, he  
 pointed with his finger to the Roman camp.  
 The Cyziceniens, being then sure of an aid ve-  
 ry near them, were greatly encouraged ; and  
 Lucullus even soon made some troops enter  
 the city to reinforce them.

In the mean time Mithridates continued the  
 siege with vigour. He had a famous Engi-  
 neer in his service, Nicomedes the Thessa-  
 lian, who had made machines for him of  
 all kinds, and in great number ; tortoises,  
 rams, towers of different magnitudes, and one  
 in particular called \* *Helepolis*, an hundred

\* *It is a Greek word, that signifies Machine for taking of*  
*according to the etymology, fig-* towns.

cubits high, and from which rose another tower, that discharged stones, fire, and clouds of darts. On the side next the sea, two *Quinqueremes* (gal-  
 lies of five benches of oars) supported a tower, to which a flying bridge was affixed, ready to be thrown upon the wall, when at a small distance from it

A. R. 678.  
 Ant. C.  
 74.

But before he brought all these engines to play, the King of Pontus was for trying a shorter method. In the battle of Chalcedon he had taken a great number of Cyziceni-  
 ans prisoners: he made them approach the walls, towards which they stretched out their hands, imploring their fellow-citizens to take compassion upon them. This attempt was ineffectual; and Pisistratus, the chief Magistrate of the city, declared to them, that all he could do for them, was to deplore their fate, and exhort them to support it with patience.

Mithridates then perceiving, that nothing but force could reduce their determinate courage, gave orders to begin the attack on the side next the sea. The machine performed its designed effect; the bridge was thrown upon the wall, and four men boldly advanced from the tower sword in hand. The besieged were at first terrified to see the enemy on a sudden upon their walls; but the first four not having been sustained soon enough, the Cyziceni-  
 ans resumed courage, repulsed the assailants, and discharging fire and burning pitch upon the ships, reduced them to retire.

They had not recovered their fear occasioned by so great an alarm, when the machines intended for the attack on the land-side began to play. The besieged spared no efforts, and left no means unemployed for their de-

A.R. 6-3. fence. They discharged great stones to break  
 Ant. C. the roofs of the tortoiles that covered the  
 -4. rams; and then endeavoured with grapplings  
 and running knots to seize the rams them-  
 selves, and lift them up into the air; or op-  
 posed them with woolpacks to break their  
 blows. As to fire-pots, they extinguished  
 them with water and vinegar; and spread cur-  
 tains of strength to deaden the darts discharged  
 at them. With all these efforts they could  
 not prevent part of their walls from being  
 burnt, and beat down towards the evening,  
 and a considerable breach from being made.  
 Happily for them the fire was so violent, that  
 the enemy did not dare to throw themselves  
 into it. The Cyziceniens in consequence had  
 time during the night to erect a new wall.

The success of this first day, though favour-  
 able on the whole to the besieged, gave reason  
 however extremely to apprehend those terrible  
 machines, that had already much damaged  
 their walls. An unforeseen event delivered  
 the place from them. It was now winter;  
 and so dreadful an hurricane happened on a  
 sudden, as first made all the machines begin  
 to crack; and at length they broke down and  
 were overturned even to the great *Helepolis*,  
 which had cost so much expence and labour.  
 It is said, that this storm had been foretold to  
 the Cyziceniens, in a dream, which Aristago-  
 ras, one of the principal magistrates of that  
 city, dreamt. He said, that during the night  
 he had seen Proserpina, the Patroness of Cy-  
 zicum, who declared to him, *that she was go-  
 ing to oppose the trumpeters of Pontus with the  
 Lybian player upon the flute.* This player up-  
 on the flute was the South-Wind, which occa-  
 sioned



sioned the storm. We should be more obliged A R 678.  
to the ancient Historians, if instead of enter- Ant. C.  
taining us with dreams, that might easily be 74.  
invented after things fell out, they had been  
more circumstantial in their accounts of the  
siege. They have even neglected to inform  
us how long it lasted. We however learn  
from Strabo and Appian, that Mithridates, af-  
ter his machines were broke to pieces, caused  
mines to be dug, that were countermined by the  
besieged; and that some combats were fought  
under ground, in one of which the King, who  
had entered the mines, was very near being  
taken prisoner.

Nothing succeeded on the side of Mithri-  
dates; and the Cyzicenians had reason to hope  
the best. Their confidence increased from  
the persuasion, that the Gods declared in their  
favour. Besides the dream of Aristagoras,  
there was another event of the same kind,  
which I shall repeat, as I find it in my Au-  
thors. I have said before, that Proserpina was  
the tutelary Divinity of Cyzicum. Her festi-  
val approached, on which a black heifer was  
to be sacrificed to her; and as it was the  
custom for the cattle to feed on the main-land,  
the victim, intended for the goddess, was ac-  
tually there, and the Cyzicenians could not get  
it into the city. To supply it's place, they  
made a representation of it in flour. But on  
the usual day, the black heifer quitted the  
herd of herself, swam across the strait alone,  
and came and presented herself to be sacri-  
ficed. This was matter of great joy to the  
besieged, who no longer doubted the protection  
of the gods.

A.R. 673. A more real advantage for them, was the  
 Ant. C. famine, which the army of Mithridates suffered.  
 71. That Prince was ignorant of it for some time,  
*Famine in* being deceived by those who approached him.  
*the army of* But at length the evil became so pressing, that  
*Mithri-* it was absolutely necessary to apprize him of it.  
*dates.* Those haughty conceptions, that made him  
 treat the resistance of the Cyziceniens as insol-  
 lence, were then heard no more: he was terri-  
 fied, finding he had to do with a General, who  
 did not seek for glare and shew in his manner of  
 making war; but had the solid in view, by  
 cutting off his provisions, and attacking him  
 by famine.

He however would not yet abandon his en-  
 terprize, and contented himself with endea-  
 vouring some mitigation of the famine, by  
 sending to Bithynia almost all his cavalry, the  
 carriage-beasts, and part of his infantry, that  
 had suffered most, and were least capable of  
 service. For the setting out of this detach-  
 ment he chose a time, when Lucullus was ab-  
 sent, attacking a fort in the neighbourhood.  
 But the Roman General having been soon in-  
 formed of what passed, returned the same  
 night to his camp; and at day-break, taking  
 ten cohorts with all his cavalry, notwithstand-  
 ing the frost and snow, he set out in pursuit  
 of that body of the enemy. He came up  
 with them near the river Rhyndacus, cut  
 some in pieces, and dispersed them in such a  
 manner, that the women of a neighbouring ci-  
 ty came out to seize the baggage and spoil  
 the dead. Many of them remained on the  
 spot: fifteen thousand were taken prisoners,  
 with six thousand horses, and an innumerable  
 multitude of carriage-beasts. Lucullus car-  
 ried

ried all back again to his camp; passing in a kind of triumph in the view of the besiegers.

A.R. 678.  
Ant. C.  
74.

The famine continually increased amongst them; and to compleat their misfortunes, the sea, which had hitherto supplied them with some provisions, became impracticable on account of the bad season. Many in consequence died of hunger; some kept themselves alive with human flesh; and others, who had such a diet in horror, being reduced to feed upon grass and herbage, fell through weakness and langour; and lastly, the number of the dead, that remained without burial, brought the plague into the camp. Mithridates however still obstinately persisted in carrying on the siege, and waited the success of batteries he had planted upon an hill, that commanded the city. But the Cyzicenians, who knew the bad condition of his troops, having made a vigorous salley, found no great danger from the resistance of people half dead of disease and misery, destroyed their works, and burnt all the machines that remained. Thus the King of Pontus was at length reduced by necessity to resolve upon flight.

That was very difficult in the presence of a victorious army. Mithridates, to amuse Lucullus, and employ him elsewhere, caused a squadron of ships to be got ready, which was to go to the Ægean sea under the command of the Admiral Aristonicus. That Admiral carried ten thousand pieces of gold with him, to endeavour to corrupt Fimbria's legions, whom Mithridates had long been in hopes of drawing over to his party. And indeed they were mutinous and seditious, as we have said

A.P. 673 before ; and besides, originally adherents to  
 Ant. C. Marius's faction. As the King had Romans  
 74. of the same faction with him, that is, those  
 whom Sertorius had sent to him, his hopes  
 were not without some foundation. But those  
 who place confidence in the perfidious, always  
 expose themselves to be deceived. Fimbria's  
 soldiers pretended to give ear to the proposals  
 of Aristonicus ; and having drawn him on to  
 a place, where they were masters, they took  
 him with his gold, and killed those that at-  
 tended him.

*Flight of* In the mean time Mithridates was making  
*Mithri-* his last dispositions for setting out from before  
*dates ; dis-* Cyzicum. He appointed two of his Generals  
*after of his* to march his land-forces to Lampacus, who  
*army.* were still about thirty thousand in number. As  
 for him, he resolved to go by sea to Parium.  
 The embarkation was made with all the tu-  
 mult and disorder of a precipitate flight. But  
 the passage, which was very short, was quiet  
 and successful. Those who remained on the  
 land, had not the same fate. For first, the  
 sick, that were left in the camp, were put to  
 the sword by the Cyzicenians, who came out  
 in arms, as soon as they were informed of the  
 flight of Mithridates. Lucullus on his side  
 pursued those, who were retiring to Lampacus,  
 and having come up with them near (a) the  
 Granicus, others say the Æsepus, he cut them  
 to pieces, killed near twenty thousand, and  
 took abundance of prisoners. The wrecks of  
 this deplorable army shut themselves up in

(a) The Granicus is famous | under upon it's banks 'The  
 for the victory gained by Alex- | Æsepus is a river adjacent.

Lampacus ;



Lampfacus; but they could not have escaped A R. 678.  
 Lucullus, if Mithridates had not sent ships to Ant. C.  
 carry them off with all the inhabitants. From 74.  
 thence Lucullus returned to Cyzicum, to enjoy  
 the applauses of so glorious a victory. He was  
 received in the midst of the acclamations of the  
 Cyzicenians, who even eternized their grati-  
 tude, by instituting festivals in honour of him,  
 which from his name they called *Lucullea*. It  
 is said, that Mithridates lost scarce less than  
 three hundred thousand men in this unfortunate  
 expedition, including soldiers and the necessary  
 followers of an army.

This great event happened in the Consulship  
 of M. Lucullus, and C. Cassius. The siege  
 seems to have begun towards the end of the  
 year, in which Lucullus was Consul, and it  
 was raised in the beginning of the year follow-  
 ing.

M. TERENTIUS VARRO LUCULLUS.	A. R. 679.
C. CASSIUS VARUS.	Ant. C.
	73.

Lucullus without loss of time prepared to *All Bithi-*  
 take the advantage of his victory, and to drive *nia recon-*  
 Mithridates entirely out of Bithynia. But he *quered, ex-*  
 had occasion for a fleet against an enemy, who *cept Nico-*  
 was master of the sea. To fit one out, the *media, in*  
 Senate offered him \* three thousand talents. *which Mi-*  
 He generously refused them, and replied, that *thridates*  
 without any expence to the public Treasury, *sets him-*  
 he should find sufficient resources in the zeal *self up.*  
 and fidelity of the allies of the Common- *\* About*  
 wealth. Accordingly he drew together a great *450,000l.*  
 number of ships from the cities of Asia; and *Sterling.*  
 thereby saw himself in a condition to push Mi-  
 thridates at the same time by sea and land.  
 His

A.R. 679. His Lieutenant-Generals, Voconius Barba and  
 Ant. C. Valerius Triarius, took the principal cities of  
 75. Bithynia, Apamea, \* Prusa, † Prusias, Ni-  
 \* Byrsa. cæa; and Mithridates after a shipwreck, in  
 † Anti- which he lost a great number of vessels near  
 ently Cius. Parium, was obliged to shut himself up in Ni-  
 comedia, whither Cotta, who was desirous to  
 repair the affront he had received near Chalce-  
 don, and afterwards Triarius, came to besiege  
 him.

*Lucullus  
 in two  
 battles de-  
 fends a  
 fleet that  
 Mithri-  
 dates was  
 sending to  
 Italy.*

That Prince was little afraid of their efforts, and far from being discouraged by so many bad successes, and keeping upon the defensive, he actually made a fleet set out to excite or support the revolt in Italy, which at this very time was overran by Spartacus. He had given the command of his fleet to two of his Generals, and M. Marius, whom Sertorius had sent to him with the title of Proconsul. Lucullus, without doubt to oppose the execution of that design, had continued upon the coasts of the Hellespont. When he was in the country of Troas, passing the night in a temple of Venus, he dreamt he saw that Goddess, who said to him: *Why sleepest thou, magnanimous Lion? See the timorous fawns are near thee.* Lucullus had perhaps learnt of Sylla to have regard to dreams. When he related this to his friends, he received advice, that thirteen ships had been seen to pass by steering towards the isle of Lemnos. He immediately set out, joined them near Tanedos, took them, killed their commander Isidorus, and from thence made sail to Lemnos, where their grand fleet lay.

He found the enemy in the road, and so near the land, that he could neither get within them, nor attack them in front with advantage;

rage; because the motions of the sea made his A.R. 679.  
 vessels roll, and give but feeble blows to those Ant. C.  
 of Mithridates, which were supported in a 73.  
 firm manner by the shore, and also defended  
 by brave troops. At length Lucullus, having  
 observed a place in the island of easy access,  
 landed part of his soldiers, who proceeded  
 to charge the enemy in the rear. The latter  
 seeing themselves at once attacked both by sea  
 and land, made no long resistance. If they re-  
 moved from the land, they frequently ran foul  
 of one another, or upon the beaks of Lucullus's  
 ships. If they kept their station, they were  
 within the reach of the Romans, that had land-  
 ed. The whole was destroyed: two and thirty  
 ships of war with a great number of transports  
 were either taken or sunk; and the three Ge-  
 nerals were made prisoners. Lucullus gave  
 Marius no quarter, whom he considered as a  
 traitor to his country; and caused him to be  
 put to death in torments. And even appre-  
 hending, that he might escape punishment by  
 dying sword in hand, he had taken the pre-  
 caution before the battle, to order his soldiers  
 not to kill any of the enemy, that had but one  
 eye; which was Marius's case.

This victory was considered as important for Cic. pro  
 the tranquillity of Italy: and Cicero in more L. Manil.  
 than one place praises Lucullus, for having n. 21. pro  
 preserved it by his valour and good fortune from Mar. n.  
 being invaded by the Allies and partizans of 38.  
 Sertorius.

The entire evacuation of Bithynia by Mi- *Mithri-*  
 thridates was also a consequence of this same *dates re-*  
 victory. For that Prince, who was in Nico- *tires into*  
 media, having received advice that Lucullus *his King-*  
 was advancing against him with the utmost *dom.*  
 expedition, *Plut.*  
*Appian.*

A. R. 69. expedition, did not judge it proper to wait for  
 Ant. C. him, and set sail to return to his Kingdom.  
 75. He could not have done so, if the orders of  
 Lucullus had been executed. For he had com-  
 manded Voconius Barba to block up the port  
 of Nicomedia with the squadron under his  
 command, whilst Cotta and Triarius did the  
 same on the land side. But Voconius, out of  
 an entirely ill-timed superstition, went to Sa-  
 mothracia to be initiated in the mysteries of  
 the great Gods. Mithridates set out therefore  
 without interruption; but when he approached  
 Heraclea \*, he met with so violent a storm,  
 that a great number of his ships were sepa-  
 rated and dispersed; others sunk; and during  
 several days the whole coast was covered with  
 the wrecks of that tempest, which compleated  
 the ruin of his maritime forces. He was himself  
 in a ship too large to approach the shore with  
 safety during the agitation of the sea, and  
 which besides began to take in water on all  
 sides. He was in consequence reduced to go  
 on board the brigantine of a Pirate, and  
 thought himself happy in escaping in that  
 manner to Heraclea.

\* Note  
 Eragni or  
 Pencern-  
 ghi.

*He makes  
 himself  
 master of  
 Heraclea  
 on his  
 return.*

Memnon.

Nor did that city depend on him. It was  
 a little Grecian republic, which, discontented  
 with the exactions of the Romans, and, besides  
 apprehending their power, continued fluctuating  
 and uncertain between the two parties. It was  
 therefore only in effect of an understanding with  
 one of the principal citizens, that Mithridates  
 entered the place; which when he had once  
 done, he easily determined the citizens to de-  
 clare in his favour; after which he went far-  
 ther, and, under pretext of defending the city  
 against the Romans, he put a garrison of four  
 thousand



thousand men into it, with Connacorex as commandant. He afterwards pursued his journey, and went first to Sinope, and then to Amisus.

A.R. 679.  
Ant. C.  
73.

Lucullus had reconquered all Bithynia, and many advised him at least to repose some time upon his laurels. But he gave no ear to them; and after conferring with Cotta, he left him the care of besieging Heraclea, gave the command of his fleet to Triarius; and as for himself, he resolved to pursue Mithridates by land, and to carry the war into his dominions.

*Lucullus  
pursues  
Mithri-  
dates, and  
carries the  
war into  
his domi-  
nions.  
Plut.  
Appian.  
Memnon.*

That Prince did not forget himself in so pressing a danger. He sent both Ambassadors and Letters to demand aid of the Kings of Scythia, Tigranes, and the King of Parthia. But besides that all these resources were at a great distance, most of them failed him. The Minister whom he sent to Scythia betrayed him, and went over with the gold and presents he was to carry thither, into the camp of Lucullus. The King of Parthia would have no share in a quarrel, that seemed foreign to him. Only Tigranes, solicited by the Daughter of Mithridates, who was one of his wives, made some promises; but was not in haste to put them in execution. Thus the King of Pontus, reduced to place all his hopes in himself, undertook to traverse the march of Lucullus, sending light-armed troops to harass him and carry off his convoys. It even appears, that he had caused the country to be destroyed, through which the Romans were to pass. For Lucullus, in order to have provisions, was obliged to make thirty thousand Gallo-Grecians march with his army, each of whom carried a *medimnus* \* of corn upon his shoulders. But this scarcity was of no long duration.

\* *The  
Medim-  
na con-  
tained a  
but five  
bushels.*

A.R. 679. duration. The Roman army soon found itself  
 Ant. C. in a rich country, that having been long with-  
 75. out experiencing the calamities of war, supplied

+ Five  
 pence.

her conquerors with such abundance, that an ox was sold for a drachma †, a slave for four, and the rest of the plunder was reckoned as nothing, because nobody had occasion to dispose of it, every one being in a state of opulence.

He causes  
 Amisus  
 and Eupatoria to be  
 blocked up.

Lucullus finding no resistance in the open countries, laid siege to two neighbouring cities, Amisus and Eupatoria. Amisus was one of the royal cities of Mithridates, who had a palace in it. Eupatoria had been founded by him, and was called by his name; for the first surname of that Prince was Eupator. The Roman General however did not confine himself to pushing the sieges of these places; and contenting himself with blocking them up, he advanced continually into the country, and came as far as Themiscyra near the Thermodoon, the river rendered so famous by the Amazons.

Murmurs  
 of his sol-  
 diers.

His soldiers, greedy of plunder, were very much dissatisfied with his manner of making war. Many places had surrendered to him, and he had received them on composition: none had been taken by force. Even the siege of Amisus went on slowly; and it was manifest, that Lucullus intended to spare that great and fine city. *Where does he lead us?* said the mutineers, *Into deserts to hunt Mithridates: whilst, if he attacked Amisus with vigour, he might enrich us with the plunder of a royal city.* Lucullus despised these murmurs, of which he did not then foresee the consequences. He thought himself more obliged to justify his conduct to those, who thought, that he

he did not follow Mithridates close enough, A.R. 679.  
 and that by amusing himself in a country, where <sup>Ant. C.</sup>  
 there was nothing of importance to be done, <sup>73.</sup>  
 he gave that Prince time to strengthen himself  
 anew, and to assemble forces.

*That is exactly what I want, said he; that Reasons  
 Mithridates, seeing himself again at the head of <sup>for which</sup>  
 a numerous army, may believe himself capable of <sup>he gives</sup>  
 facing us, and not fly on our approach. Don't <sup>Mithri-</sup>  
 you see, that there are immense desarts behind <sup>dates time</sup>  
 him, and Mount Caucasus, whose passes and hol- <sup>to assemble</sup>  
 lows may hide and shelter a thousand Kings from <sup>a new</sup>  
 our pursuit, who should desire to avoid fighting.  
 Another resource of Mithridates is this. He is  
 now at Cabira: from thence he has but a few  
 days march for arriving in Armenia, the King of  
 which Tigranes is his son-in-law. That King,  
 the most powerful of Asia, whose Empire extends  
 from the frontiers of Parthia as far as Pa-  
 lestine, seeks only an occasion for making war  
 against us. And with what more specious pretext  
 can we supply him, than that of defending a  
 Prince, his ally, who implores his protection?  
 Who can doubt, but if we reduce Mithridates to  
 extremities, that he will throw himself into the  
 arms of Tigranes. Is it consistent for us to shew  
 him a resource, from which he may find aid for  
 opposing us? Instead of giving him time to gain  
 forces from that Prince for reviving his hopes, we  
 shall only have to deal with the Cappadocians, who  
 we have already beaten upon every other occasion,  
 and not with Armenians and Medes, of whom we  
 know nothing.*

For all these reasons, Lucullus suffered the  
 rest of the campaign to elapse without any  
 considerable enterprize; and Mithridates in  
 reality took the advantage of that time of re-  
 laxation,



A. R. 679. laxation, for drawing together during the win-  
Ant. C. ter forty thousand foot and four thousand horse,  
73. with which in the beginning of the spring he  
passed the \* Lycus, and marched to meet the  
Romans, who on their side were advancing in  
quest of him.

A. R. 680.  
Ant. C.  
72.

L. GELLIUS POPLICOLA.  
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CLODIANUS.

Plut.  
Appian.  
Memnon.

*Noble spi-  
rit of a  
Roman  
Officer, a  
prisoner,  
and Mi-  
thridates's  
generosity  
in respect  
to him.*

The two armies were a considerable time in  
view, and seemed reciprocally afraid of each  
other ; for there was no general action. On-  
ly some skirmishes passed ; and at first one  
of cavalry, in which Mithridates had all the  
advantage. Amongst the prisoners, a Roman  
officer was brought to him, called Pomponius,  
who was dangerously wounded. The King  
asked him, whether, if he gave him his life he  
might rely upon him as his friend. *Yes, re-  
plied the prisoner, if you make peace with the  
Romans. If not, I have nothing more to say.*  
Those who were present, incensed at this  
haughty answer, urged Mithridates to put him  
to death. But that Prince had the generosity to  
reject such mean advice, and said that *virtue  
in misfortunes ought not to be treated with injury  
or violence.*

The event of this action shewed Lucullus,  
that the enemy was superiour to him in re-  
spect to cavalry, and that in consequence it was  
necessary for him to avoid the plains. In-  
structed by those, who knew the country, he re-  
moved his camp to an eminence, from whence  
he was at hand to attack, and could not be

\* Now called Tofanlu or river of Tocat.



forced to fight againſt his will. Chance how-  
 ever occaſioned another engagement without  
 the order of the Generals. As ſome of Mi-  
 thridates's officers were purſuing a ſtag, a Ro-  
 man party who happened to be on their way,  
 cut off their retreat. That brought on a ſkir-  
 miſh. The two parties, which were at firſt  
 inconfiderable, augmented by the reinforcements  
 each ſide received; and the Cappadocians had  
 the better. The Romans, who from their  
 camp ſaw their comrades fly, were highly en-  
 raged, and demanded the ſignal of battle of  
 Lucullus. But he was for ſhewing them what  
 the preſence of an able and reſpected General  
 could do. He ordered them to continue quiet;  
 and deſcending in perſon into the plain with a  
 few followers, he cried out to the firſt of his  
 troops, that he met flying, to ſtop and return  
 to the fight. They obeyed, and their example  
 having encouraged the reſt, he repulſed the  
 enemy without difficulty into their camp. Lu-  
 cullus, a ſevere obſerver of diſcipline, inflicted  
 upon thoſe who had fled a military puniſhment,  
 uſed amongſt the Romans, and condemned  
 them to dig a trench of twelve feet in their tu-  
 nicks, without arms or belts.

A.R. 680.  
 Ant. C.  
 72  
*Accidental  
 engage-  
 ment, in  
 which Mi-  
 thridates  
 has ſome  
 advan-  
 tage.*

At this time his good fortune preſerved  
 him from a danger, that all his prudence could  
 neither have foreſeen, nor avoided. He had  
 received a deſerter of importance in his camp,  
 called Olthacus, Prince of the Dardanians, a  
 nation in the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæ-  
 otis. This deſerter was a traitor, who had  
 promiſed Mithridates to rid him of Lucullus;  
 in other reſpects he was brave, intelligent, ac-  
 tive, and inſinuating; ſo that the Roman Ge-  
 neral, who ſoon diſcerned thoſe qualities in him,

*Danger  
 Lucullus  
 was of be-  
 ing aſſaſ-  
 ſinated by a  
 deſerter.*

A.R. 680  
Ant. C.  
72.

often admitted him to his table, and even to his councils. When the Dardanian thought he had found the occasion he sought, he commanded his people to keep his horse in readiness for him without the camp; and at noon, when the heat, which was very great, disposed every body, soldiers and officers, to repose themselves, he went to Lucullus's tent, expecting to enter without opposition in virtue of their familiarity. It had been all over with him, if sleep, which has occasioned the death of so many Generals, had not saved Lucullus. As he had fatigued himself very much some days before, and passed the nights without sleeping, he was then laid down; and his servant refused to let Olthacus enter. The latter insisted on it, saying that he must speak to the General upon an affair of importance. But the slave replied, that there was nothing more necessary than his master's health; and without so much as hearing him, thrust him out by the shoulders. Olthacus was afraid of being suspected; and, not believing that it was safe for him to stay in the camp of a person he had intended to assassinate, he immediately returned to Mithridates, who in consequence had only the shame of having given his consent to a base treachery, contrary to all the laws of war.

*Two actions in which the Romans are victorious.*

In the mean time the two armies began to suffer by famine. The country which they occupied was eaten up: the Romans had no provisions, but what they brought from the territories of Ariobarzanes, and were obliged to detach great bodies of troops to escort and secure their convoys. Mithridates rightly conceived, that if he should intercept those convoys,

voys, he should give Lucullus the change, and A. R. 680.  
 should reduce him to the same state in which Ant. C.  
 he had seen himself before Cyzicum. He there- 72.  
 fore sent troops to scour the roads, through  
 which provisions were brought to the Roman  
 army. There were two great actions upon this  
 occasion, in which the Romans were victorious.  
 The second in particular was important and de-  
 cisive. The Cappadocians were to the num-  
 ber of six thousand ; four thousand foot, and  
 two thousand horse. The Generals, who com-  
 manded them, were so imprudent to attack the  
 Romans in a defile, in which their Cavalry,  
 that formed their principal force, could be of  
 no use. Fabius Adrianus, who was at the  
 head of the Romans, knew well how to take  
 the advantage of the ground. Mithridates's  
 troops were entirely defeated, and scarce enough  
 escaped to carry their master the news of this  
 misfortune. The King of Pontus was terrified,  
 and endeavoured to prevent the rumour of this  
 affair from spreading in his army. But the  
 victor passed insulting before his camp, with  
 a long train of carriages, laden with spoils and  
 provisions.

This fight spread consternation among the Consternation of  
 troops of Mithridates, and the King himself, Mithri-  
 who saw that his camp was in want of pro- dates's  
 visions, and that it was not reasonable for him troops, and  
 to rely upon the service of soldiers so much flight of  
 discouraged, formed a design, excusable per- that  
 haps from necessity, but little suiting the haugh- Prince.  
 tiness he had hitherto affected. He resolved to  
 fly secretly, and to abandon his army. He  
 even imparted this resolution to the principal  
 persons of his Council, who immediately ap-  
 plied themselves to saving their equipages, by  
 making

A R. 680 making them set out with the utmost expedition.  
 Ant. C. The soldiers who saw the preparations for this  
 72. desperate flight, determined to stop the equipages. On this occasion a tumult ensued. The enraged multitude plundered the carriages, and slaughtered those to whom they belonged. Dorylaus, one of the principal Generals of Mithridates, was killed, solely for the sake of the purple robe which he wore. One Hermasus, a Sacrificer, was trampled to death by men and horses. On this uproar the King quitted his tent, and endeavoured to pacify the troops. But nobody hearkened to him; and being reduced to escape by flight without either officer or slave to attend him, he was himself thrown down, and would have been in great danger of perishing, if one of his eunuchs, who perceived him in that sad condition, had not given him his horse to carry him off, and to save him immediately.

*He escapes  
 with great  
 pain, and  
 retires in-  
 to Arme-  
 nia.*

It was high time. For Lucullus, who was apprized of all that had passed, sent his Cavalry in pursuit of those that fled; whilst himself with his Legions entered the camp, and put all to the sword, whom the desire of saving what they had most valuable, had kept there. A body of Gallo-Grecian horse pursued Mithridates so close, that it was next to impossible for him to escape. Happily for him, or rather by an effect of his address, a mule laden with gold was taken by those troops on their way. Through their greediness for so rich a prey, they forgot one of much greater importance: whilst they plundered the gold, Mithridates escaped, and arrived at first at Comana; from thence he went to Tigranes in



in Armenia (*a*). Cicero compares this flight of Mithridates to that of Medea, who, when pursued by her father, scattered the limbs of her brother Absyrtus upon the way. As those deplorable remains of a tenderly beloved son, delayed an unfortunate father; so the gold designedly scattered upon the way by Mithridates, had the same effect upon his pursuers.

This was perhaps the greatest, but not the only injury, which the avidity and insolence of the Roman troops did their General. Mithridates's Secretary of State had been taken, and Lucullus had given orders, that he should be kept with great vigilance. But those who guarded him having discovered, that he had five hundred pieces of gold about him, killed and robbed him.

On entering the enemy's camp, Lucullus gave orders to put all to the sword, and not to plunder. His view was no doubt, according to the ancient discipline, to cause all the spoils to be piled up together, and to distribute them equally amongst all the troops. But this was not the time when the Roman soldiers kept rich spoils faithfully, out of a spirit of equity for their comrades, and submission to their Gene-

A.R. 680.  
Ant. C.  
72.

See Vol.  
V. L. xvii.  
§ 3.

(*a*) Ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa eundem profugisse dicitur: quoniam prædicant in fuga, matris sui membra in his locis esse, ut parens persequeretur dissipasse, ut eorum collectio dispersa mororque patris celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens, maximam vim auri

rumque rerum omnium, quas & à majoribus acceperat, & ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia dereptas in suum regnum coniecerat, in Ponto omnem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligant omnia diligentius, rex ipse è manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio moror, hos lætitia retardavit. Cic. *pro Lege Manil.* n. 22.

A.R. 680. rals. The sight of the gold and silver vessels,  
 Ant. C. purple carpets, and so much rich plunder,  
 72. made them easily forget the orders of Lucullus,  
 and nothing was spared.

*Forts and* For the rest, the victory was compleat, and  
*castles of* subjected all Pontus to the Romans. Lucullus  
*Mithri-* took the city of Cabira, where Mithridates had  
*dates sur-* passed the preceding winter; and on all sides  
*rendered* those, who commanded in the forts, and castles,  
*to Lucul-* fecit. <sup>d</sup> to vie with each other in bringing  
*lus.* the keys to the victor. The Roman General  
*Prisoners* found great numbers in these castles: he also  
*of state set* found in them numerous prisons, in which had  
*at liberty.* been shut up, during many years, abundance of  
 Greeks, many Princes of the Royal Family,  
 most of whom were supposed to be dead, and  
 whom the arrival and victory of Lucullus pro-  
 cured not only liberty, but a kind of new life,  
 and resurrection from the grave. Nyssa (*a*), the  
 sister of Mithridates, and widow of Nicomedes,  
 was also one of Lucullus's prisoners on this oc-  
 casion; which was very fortunate for her. For  
 the sisters and wives of Mithridates, who seemed  
 very far from the danger, and were kept under  
 guard near (*b*) Pharnacia, perished miserably,  
 in effect of not having fallen into the hands of  
 their generous enemy.

*Death of* The King of Pontus had retired, as I have  
*Roxana* said, to the Court of Tigranes, and not find-  
*and Sta-* ing that Ally very warm for giving him aid,  
*tira, sisters*  
*of Mithri-*  
*dates.*

(*a*) Plutarch does not give this distinction to the sister of Mithridates, mentioned here. But the widow of Nicomedes is called Nyssa in the letter of Mithridates to the King of Parthia, among the fragments of Sallust. Which gives room to conjecture, that Nyssa, sister of Mithridates, and widow of Nicomedes, was one and the same Princess.  
 (*b*) It is either the same city as Cerasentum, or one in the neighbourhood of it.

he believed himself irretrievably ruined, and A.R. 680.  
 sent the eunuch Bacchis to Pharnacia, to carry Ant. C.  
 the Princesses confined there orders to die: a 72.  
 cruel precaution, and worthy of the bloody  
 character of Mithridates. He had two sisters  
 in that place, Roxana and Statira, about forty  
 years of age, who had never been married.  
 They received death with very different senti-  
 ments. Roxana loaded with imprecations a  
 barbarous brother, who deprived her of life,  
 after having made her pass so much of it mourn-  
 fully in prison. The other on the contrary shew-  
 ed an heroic courage, and highly praised this  
 last goodness of the King, who, not being able  
 to save them, spared them at least the shame of  
 captivity, and perhaps of treatment highly un-  
 worthy of their rank.

Two of the King's wives perished in the *Death of*  
 same castle. The one was Berenice, who had *Berenice,*  
 her mother with her then very old. That af- *one of the*  
 flicted parent would not survive her daughter, *wives of*  
 and desired to share the cup of poison with her. *Mithri-*  
*dates.*  
 She had her will, and there was enough to put  
 a speedy end to the life of an ancient and infirm  
 person. But the dose did not suffice for Bere-  
 nice, who was young, and as she suffered ex-  
 ceedingly, and did not seem to be in a way of  
 dying soon enough, Bacchis, who was in haste,  
 strangled her.

The famous Monima, of whom we have *Death of*  
 spoken above, comes next. She had long *Monima.*  
 pined in the deepest affliction, lamenting her *Vol. X.*  
 unhappy beauty, which had given her a tyrant  
 instead of a spouse, and a prison, in which she  
 was guarded by Barbarians, instead of an house  
 of her own, and a calm and happy establish-  
 ment. She continually regretted Greece, from

A.R. 630. which she saw herself removed, having received  
 Ant. C. only chimerical goods, that had no more reality  
 72. than dreams, in exchange for the most solid  
 and grateful possessions, liberty, and the abode  
 of her native country. When Bacchis there-  
 fore had signified the King's order to her, which  
 however left her, as well as the rest, at liberty  
 to choose what kind of death she pleased, she  
 snatched off the diadem that incircled her head,  
 and having put it round her neck, she hung  
 herself up by it, to die in that manner. But  
 the weight of her body soon breaking the  
 diadem, she threw it down spitting upon it,  
 and saying, *Wretched bandage, couldst thou not  
 at least do me one deplorable service?* At the same  
 time she presented her throat to the eunuch's  
 sword.

Lucullus These cruelties extremely afflicted Lucullus,  
 who had all the humanity of a noble soul. But  
 it was not in his power either to prevent or re-  
 medy them. He followed Mithridates in his  
 flight, 'till he received advice, that he had en-  
 tered the dominions of Tigranes. He then re-  
 turned back, and after having reduced Arme-  
 nia Minor, and some nations in the neighbour-  
 hood of Colchis, he turned his arms towards  
 the cities of Amisus and Eupatoria, which still  
 held out, having been only blocked up during  
 the absence of the General.

A.R. 631.

CN. AUFIDIUS CRESTES.

Ant. C.

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SURA.

71.

Taking of  
 Eupato-  
 ria.

Eupatoria did not hold out long against  
 Lucullus; he took it by storm, and demolished  
 it.

Amisus



Amisus had a governor who cost the Romans A.R. 681. more trouble, (his name was Callimachus) a good Ant. C. mechanic at making machines, and a skillful 71. engineer, perfectly knowing how to employ all *Taking of* the means then practised for the defence of *Amisus.* places. He however suffered himself to be surprized by a stratagem simple and common enough. Lucullus had made it his custom to see the place attacked during several days successively at the same hour: at the end of a certain time the besiegers retired, and the garrison took their rest. It was this moment of repose, that the Roman General chose for giving a sudden and furious assault to the place. Callimachus, who did not expect it, had not kept himself upon his guard; and the wall was forced. There might still perhaps have been some resource, if the governor had immediately drawn together his people, and made a courageous stand: but he had no thoughts but of flying without delay by sea, and in departing set the city on fire, either to prevent the Romans from enriching themselves by the plunder, or to secure his retreat.

Lucullus was sensibly afflicted, when he saw *Generosity* the flames rise in the air. And indeed Amisus *of Lucul-* was not only a very fine city, but Grecian by *lus in re-* origin, and a colony of Athens; and for that *spect to the* reason the victor spared no pains to save it. *city and in-* He was for obliging his soldiers to extinguish *habitants* the fire, and that they should not plunder: but *of Amisus.* seeing them ready to mutiny, and striking their javelins against their shields at the same time, that they raised cries of indignation, he suffered them to plunder, expecting that the desire of booty at least would induce them to stop the conflagration. He was mistaken. Most of them

A R. 681. them on the contrary taking torches in their  
 Ant. C. hands, and searching exactly all the places,  
 71. where they imagined things of value might be  
 concealed, set fire themselves to a great num-  
 ber of buildings. Happily for that unfortunate  
 city, there fell a great rain, which saved the  
 remains of it. Lucullus was inconsolable for  
 this event; and when he entered the next day  
 to take possession of his conquest, he said to  
 his friends, with tears in his eyes, "That he  
 " had always admired Sylla's good fortune,  
 " but especially that day he thought him en-  
 " tirely happy in having been able to save  
 " Athens as he desired." *Whereas I, added*  
*he, who was for imitating him, am reduced to*  
*the same of Mummius, who took Corinth, but*  
*destroyed it.*

That Conqueror, so full of humanity, did all  
 in his power at least to repair the disaster,  
 which he had not been able to prevent. He gave  
 orders to rebuild what had been burnt. He  
 gave the kindest reception to all the inhabitants,  
 who had escaped the sword and the flames: he  
 invited the other Greeks to repopulate the city;  
 and, to attract them thither, he augmented the  
 territory fifteen thousand paces. He took par-  
 ticular care of the Athenians, who had taken  
 refuge there from the time of Aristion's tyran-  
 ny. For as Amisus was an Athenian colony,  
 it had appeared a favourable retreat to many,  
 and they had come thither to settle in confide-  
 rable numbers, not expecting, that the same  
 evils, from which they had fled in their own  
 country, would pursue them to the asylum  
 they had come so far to seek. Lucullus gave  
 each of them handsome habits, and two \* hun-  
 dred drachmas, and sent them home to Athens.  
 Amongst

\* About  
 five  
 pounds.

Amongst the prisoners, who fell into the hands of the Romans, was the celebrated grammarian Tyrannion, who afterwards acquired great reputation at Rome. Murena, the most distinguished of Lucullus's Lieutenants, and who had commanded at the siege of Amisus in his absence, asked that prisoner of his General, who granted his request, supposing that he would treat a man of such merit exceedingly well, and with all the regard due to persons of letters. But Murena, in order to have the rights of a patron over him, manumitted him: which was an injury, and not a favour; as in order to make him free, he first made him a slave; and that thereby he did not give him liberty, but deprived him of that he had always enjoyed. Plutarch very much blames this action, and observes that it is not the only one, in which Murena appeared to be much below the elevation of sentiments admired in his General; which must instruct us to abate something of the great praises, which Cicero gives this Murena in the oration he made for him. He does not content himself with saying, “ That (a) this Lieutenant of  
 “ Lucullus had fought battles, put considera-  
 “ ble bodies of troops to flight, and taken  
 “ cities; but that having overrun Asia, so  
 “ rich and voluptuous a country, he left in it  
 “ no traces either of avarice or bad conduct;  
 “ that he had done great things without his Gene-

A.R. 681.  
 Ant. C.  
 71.  
*The Grammarian Tyrannion taken prisoner, and made free by Murena.*

(a) Signa contulit, manum conseruit, copias magnas hostium fudit, urbes partim vi, partim obsidione cepit, Asiam illam refertam, & eandem delicatam sic obiit, ut in ea neque avaritiæ, neque luxuriæ vestigium reliquerit: maximo in bello sic est versatus, ut hic multas res & magnas sine imperatore gesserit, nullum sine hoc imperator. Cic. *pro. Mur. n. 25.*

A.R. 681. “ ral, and that his General had done none with-  
 Ant. C. “ out him.” These praises seem rather to have  
 71. been dictated by the interest of the cause than  
 by strict veracity.

Lucullus, after having bestowed some pains upon the re-establishment of Amisus, returned to pass the winter in Asia ; at the same time sending his brother-in-law Appius Claudius to Tigranes, to demand that he would deliver up Mithridates to the Romans.

## S E C T. II.

*Horrible oppressions exercised in Asia by the Roman tax-farmers and usurers. Wise regulations of Lucullus for the redress of Asia. Complaints of the financiers. Joy of the States of Asia. Great power of Tigranes. His pride and pomp. He gives audience to Appius, sent by Lucullus to demand Mithridates. Interview and reconciliation between Mithridates and Tigranes. Heraclea taken and destroyed by Cotta. That Proconsul, on his return to Rome, is deprived of the dignity of Senator. Sinope taken by Lucullus. Dream of Lucullus. Pontus entirely subjected. Lucullus passes the winter there. He prepares to march against Tigranes. Many blame that enterprize as rash. Lucullus passes the Euphrates and Tigris. Senseless and incredible pride of Tigranes. One of his Generals defeated and killed. Tigranes abandons Tigranocerta. Lucullus, to reduce him to a battle, besieges that city. Tigranes, at first a little daunted, resumes courage, and marches in quest of Lucullus. Lucullus advances to meet him. Treachery of the Armenians upon the small number of the Roman troops. Battle. Flight of Tigranes.*



*granes. Incredible slaughter of his army. Important observations upon the conduct of Lucullus. Mithridates rejoins Tigranes. Taking and destruction of Tigranocerta. Lucullus gains the affection of the conquered Barbarians. Tigranes sends ambassadors to the King of Parthia. Letter of Mithridates to the same Prince. Lucullus is desirous to attack the Parthians, but is prevented by the disobedience of his soldiers. Tigranes and Mithridates raise a new army. Lucullus passes mount Taurus, in order to join them. To force them to a battle, he prepares to besiege Artaxata. The battle is fought, and Lucullus gains the victory. The mutiny of his soldiers prevents him from completing the conquest of Armenia. He besieges and takes Nisibis. Commencement of Lucullus's bad success. His haughtiness had alienated the hearts of his soldiers. Origin of the discontent of his troops. The soldiers find their cause supported by a decree of the Senate, which disbands part of his troops, and appoints him successors. The revolt of the troops carried to excess by the seditious discourses of P. Clodius. Mithridates and Tigranes arm again. Bloody defeat of Triarius. Intemperate obstinacy of Lucullus's soldiers. They proceed to incredible insolence, and abandon him. Reflection of Plutarch. Lucullus's victories occasioned the misfortune of Crassus. Pompey is elected to succeed Lucullus. Bad steps of Pompey in regard to Lucullus. Interview of the two Generals. Their conversation begins with politeness, and ends with reproaches. Their discourse with each other. Lucullus returns to Italy.*

A.R. 682.

Ant. C.

70.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS.

*Horrible  
oppressions  
exercised  
in Asia by  
the Roman  
tax-far-  
mers and  
usurers.  
Plut.  
\* Sixty  
millions.*

ASIA was in a state of oppression and calamity, that stood very much in need of the wisdom and equity of Lucullus. The fine of \* twenty thousand talents laid on it by Sylla, had made way for an infinity of oppressions by the Roman tax-farmers and usurers, all rising upon each other in notorious wickedness. The cities were obliged to sell the ornaments of their Temples, and the paintings and statues, which adorned the public buildings. The fathers sold their sons and daughters. Themselves, after all these miseries, had nothing to expect in the end but slavery: but before they came to that, they were made to suffer still more rigorous treatment, strappados, the wooden-horse, and tortures of different kinds; they were compelled to stand in the hottest time of the day in the sun, or, on the contrary, during the cold season, they were plunged into mire, or laid upon ice: so that the slavery into which they fell at last, seemed to them a deliverance and a state of peace.

*Wise regu-  
lations of  
Lucullus  
for the re-  
dress of  
Asia.*

Lucullus applied himself effectually to remedy so many evils, and to relieve the People. For that purpose he made many decrees, which all breathed nothing but wisdom and lenity. In the first place, he prohibited exacting a greater interest than twelve *per Cent.* which it was the custom of the Romans to pay for money lent. In the second place, he entirely cancelled the debts, of which the interest had exceeded the principal. And lastly, the most useful and important regulation was, his decreeing, that the

the fourth part of the debtor's estate should go A.R. 682. to the creditor, 'till the discharge of the debt; Ant. C. declaring besides, that whoever should add the 7<sup>o</sup>. interest to the principal, in order to be paid interest for the whole, should lose both absolutely. By these gentle methods in less than four years the debts were paid off, and the estates became entirely clear into the hands of the owners. The usurers however still received double their principal sum; but they had raised it to six times that amount; and pretended that an hundred and twenty thousand talents were due to them, that is, according to our computation, about eighteen millions Sterling.

In consequence they rose up with fury against Lucullus, and not only in Asia, where they could do him no hurt, but at Rome, where they instigated some mercenary Orators against him; and as those who have money enough never want credit and friends, we shall see in the sequel, that they did him abundance of hurt: so much are the justest and most laudable actions frequently liable to be ill rewarded. Lucullus despised these clamours, and indulged the grateful delight of being incessantly blessed by the states and multitudes he had extricated from misery. The fame of his justice spread also into the neighbouring provinces, who all envied the happiness of those that had such a Governor.

To the wise regulation by which he reinstated good order and tranquillity in Asia, Lucullus even added public diversions and shews; and to celebrate his victory, he exhibited games at Ephesus, in which he made Athletæ and Gladiators combat. These games drew together an infinite concourse of people, who sung the

*Complaint of the Financiers. Joy of the people of Asia.*

A.R. 682. the praises of their deliverer with transports of  
 Ant. C. joy. They also celebrated feasts in all their  
 79. cities with great pomp, which they instituted  
 in honour of him, as the Cyziceni-ans had done  
 before, under the name of *Lucullea*: and the  
 sincere affection, from which these honours and  
 acts of respect flowed, had something more  
 grateful in it to Lucullus, than the honours  
 themselves.

*Great* In the mean time Ap. Claudius arrived from  
*prince of* the court of Tigranes, to which he had been  
*Tigranes.* sent to demand Mithridates. Tigranes was at  
*Pist. Luc* that time the most powerful King of Asia, and  
*Strab. L.* had been himself the artificer of his own for-  
*xi. p. 532.* tune and greatness. Armenia, before and after  
 him, never was in so exalted a situation. His  
 father, who was of the same name, reigned only  
 over part of Armenia. And as to himself, he  
 passed his youth as an hostage amongst the  
 Parthians, and was not set at liberty by them  
 without ceding a considerable part of the king-  
 dom of his ancestors. But as soon as he saw  
 himself upon the throne, he conceived thoughts  
 of aggrandizing himself. He conquered sever-  
 al petty Princes his neighbours, which made  
 him assume the pompous title of King of Kings.  
 Having augmented his forces by these con-  
 quests, he retook from the Parthians the country  
 he had been obliged to resign to them; he even  
 entered their territories, where he committed  
 great ravages. No enemy had ever weakened  
 their power so much. He reduced Mesopo-  
 tamia, which he filled with Greeks trans-  
 planted from Cilicia and Cappadocia. He  
 made the Arabians, called *Scenitæ*, quit their  
 desarts, and, having settled them in permanent  
 abodes, employed them for carrying on the  
 com-







commerce of the different parts of his vast dominions. And lastly, his fame became so great, that the Syrians, tired of the cruel divisions, that perpetually revived between the Princes of the house of the Seleucidæ, threw themselves into his arms; and it was in the city of Antioch, the capital of the kingdom of Syria, that he gave Ap. Claudius audience.

A. R. 682.  
Ant. C. 70.

This course of prosperity, which had been interrupted by no disgrace, had turned Tigranes's head with frantick pride, and made his government insupportable to the Greeks. Nothing equalled the pomp and glare of his person and house. He had amongst his officers several Kings, whom he made serve him; and in particular four, who, when he was on horseback, attended him on foot clad in simple tunicks; and when he gave audience, sitting upon his throne, they stood on each side with their hands across, to express by that attitude that they were humble slaves, ready to suffer whatever their imperious master should please to order.

*His pride  
and pomp.  
Plut.*

This theatrical shew made no impression upon Appius, and when he was admitted to an audience of Tigranes, he told him plainly, and in few words, "That he was come to carry away Mithridates, as a conquered enemy, destined to adorn the triumph of Lucullus; or, in case of a refusal, to declare war against him, Tigranes himself." To this short and haughty greeting, Tigranes did his utmost to affect a serene and tranquil air. But his countenance betrayed him; and it was easy to perceive, that having never heard a free word during the five and twenty years he had reigned, or rather exercised an insolent tyranny, over so

*He gives  
audience to  
Appius sent  
by Lucullus  
to demand  
Mithri-  
dates.*

A R. 682. many nations, he was dashed by the boldness of  
 Ant.C.70. that young Roman. He however was so much  
 master of himself as to answer, “ That it was  
 “ not consistent for him to abandon his father-  
 “ in-law ; and that if the Romans judged it  
 “ proper to attack him, he should know how  
 “ to defend himself.” He gave the ambassador  
 a letter for Lucullus, which contained this an-  
 swer ; and taking offence, that the Roman Ge-  
 neral had not given him the title of *King of Kings*,  
 and only that of *King*, he put on the superscription  
 only the name of *Lucullus*, without adding his  
 quality of General. For the rest, he did not  
 omit to send the customary presents to Appius,  
 who refused them ; and as Tigranes insisted,  
 and sent him others more considerable, the Ro-  
 man being unwilling to appear out of humour,  
 and to act with the King already upon the foot  
 of an enemy, accepted a cup, sent back all the  
 rest, and rejoined Lucullus with all possible ex-  
 pedition.

*Interview and recon-  
 ciliation of Mithrida-  
 tes and Tigranes.* This embassy had a good effect in favour of  
 Mithridates. Hitherto Tigranes had shewn  
 himself very cold in respect to the interests of  
 his father-in-law ; and if he had served him be-  
 fore by entering Cappadocia, his only end had  
 been to aggrandize himself. In the last place,  
 he had sent him no aid against Lucullus ; and  
 during a considerable time, that Mithridates  
 had been in his dominions, Tigranes had neg-  
 lected him so much as not to see him, and leave  
 him in distant places, where he was kept ra-  
 ther as a prisoner, than treated as a King. The  
 Armenian now changed his conduct in regard  
 to him, invited him to come to his Court, and  
 had frequent conferences with him.

The two Kings began by explaining themselves frankly concerning the suspicions they had conceived of each other ; and that cost some of their friends and counsellors dear, upon whom they laid the blame of their misunderstandings. Of the number of those who perished on this account, was Metrodorus of Scepsis, a man who with much learning had also the talent of eloquence, and who had been admitted so highly into the friendship and confidence of Mithridates, that he used to call him his father. Metrodorus had in reality upon an important and delicate occasion forgot what he owed his master. For having been sent by Mithridates to Tigranes to demand aid, and the King of Armenia having said to him, *But for you, Metrodorus, what do you advise me ?* he had answered, *As ambassador I exhort you to comply, but as your friend, do not give you that advice.* Tigranes, in the conversation of which we are speaking, repeated this to Mithridates, who having for some time before been dissatisfied with Metrodorus, immediately put him to death. Tigranes did not believe, that the thing would have been carried so far, and was sorry for the death of a person, whose secret himself had betrayed. He gave him magnificent obsequies ; a late and frivolous amends for the loss of life by his indiscretion.

Lucullus had no sooner received the answer of Tigranes, than he prepared to carry the war into that Prince's dominions. He set out from Asia, went to rejoin his army in Pontus, and on his arrival found, that Cotta had at last taken Heraclea after a siege of two years. But that Proconsul however had not had the principal share in the success. He had sent for Triarius

*Heraclea taken and ravaged by Cotta. Memnon.*



A R. 682  
Ant C 70

with his Fleet to besiege the place by sea, whilst he attacked it on the land-side. Triarius beat the Heracleotæ in a sea-fight, who had come out to give him battle. This advantage was not decisive; the siege continued a great while after. At length famine and disease, which followed it, grievously distressing that unfortunate city, to complete it's miseries, a jealousy arose between the commander of the garrison, whom Mithridates had left there, and the inhabitants. Connacorex, so that commander was called, seeking only to extricate himself out of danger at the expence of the city, had entered into a negotiation with the Romans. But he had applied to Triarius, because he suspected Cotta's perfidy. Triarius in consequence was introduced by treachery into the city, which he abandoned to be plundered; and Cotta only received the news of it from such of the Heracleotæ, as fled into his camp. He was extremely exasperated at it, and the two Generals were very near attacking each other. Triarius at length appeased the Proconsul and his troops, who were less enraged than their leader, by promising to divide the booty with them. Cotta completed the ruin of Heraclea: he carried off great numbers of the inhabitants into captivity, and searching out every thing that might have escaped Triarius, he left nothing of any value; not sparing even the offerings consecrated in the Temples, nor the statues of the gods. In particular, he did not forget an Hercules, whom the Heracleotæ worshipped as their tutelar divinity, but which was too rich not to excite Cotta's avidity. For they had given him a club of gold, with a skin and quiver full of arrows of the same metal. After having possessed himself

self of all the riches of Heraclea, Cotta caused A.R. 682.  
the city to be set on fire, the greatest part of Ant.C.70.  
which was reduced to ashes. He afterwards re-  
turned into Italy; leaving the troops, that had  
been under his command, to Lucullus.

He was very ill received at Rome. The *Cotta on*  
Heracleotæ had sent Ambassadors thither to *his return*  
complain of his violences: and the treasures *to Rome is*  
with which he was seen to arrive, though he had *deprived of*  
lost part of his booty by shipwrecks, evidenced *his dignity*  
against him. The Senate gave the prisoners of *of Senator.*  
Heraclea their liberty. The People, before  
whom the affair was laid, restored it's territory  
and port to the city, and prohibited the keeping  
of any of it's inhabitants in slavery. With  
these mitigations Heraclea found it very difficult  
to recover so dreadful a misfortune. As to  
Cotta, he had entirely lost his reputation; and  
if we may believe Memnon, an Historian of  
Heraclea, he was deprived of his dignity of  
Senator. He deserved more rigorous treatment  
both for his incapacity, which had occasioned  
great losses to the Romans, and for his cruelty  
and avarice. But what was very unjust, those  
who envied Lucullus, and were his enemies,  
made part of the reproaches which his colleague  
had drawn upon himself, fall upon that great  
General, so worthy of every kind of praise.

Lucullus continued to augment his glory every *Sinope ta-*  
day. Soon after he entered Pontus, he took Si- *ken by*  
nope, an important city, in which Mithridates *Lucullus.*  
was born, and had passed his infancy, and *Appian.*  
which for that reason he had made the capital of *Memnon.*  
his dominions. The multiplicity of command-  
ants, which he had put in it, facilitated the con-  
quest of it to Lucullus. One of them, without  
waiting 'till the Roman General arrived before

A.R. 682 the place, opened a treaty with him. But he  
 Ant.C 70. was discovered and put to death by his colleagues.

The two that remained, Cleochares the eunuch, and Seleucus the Pirate General, at first prepared to make a good defence; and having even attacked a convoy that was coming to the Romans by sea, with an escort of fifteen ships of war, they had the advantage in the fight, and took the transports. But when Lucullus came in person before Sinope, and had begun to attack the place vigorously, the two Commanders despaired of being able to resist. They therefore chose to fly by sea, without forgetting to make their troops first plunder the city during the night, and to load their ships with all the riches they could carry off. On setting out they left the place in flames; which when Lucullus saw, he caused the walls to be scaled, and easily made himself master of it. He could not prevent his soldiers at first from committing great disorders and slaughter in a place taken by storm. But at length he put a stop to their violence, prevented the entire ruin of the city, and treated as many of the inhabitants as had been able to escape with great clemency.

*Dream of Lucullus* Plutarch adds a circumstance to this part of his narrative, which I should willingly omit, if I did not think myself as much obliged to give the History of the human mind a place here as that of other facts. Lucullus, says he, the night before the taking of Sinope, dreamt that he heard somebody say to him, *Advance a little, Antolycus is coming to meet you.* He did not comprehend the meaning of those words. But after having forced the city, being in pursuit of some straggling pirates who had not yet quitted the port, he saw a fine statue upon the shore,

shore, which the pirates had not had time to A.R.682. put on board their ship. He asked who that Ant.C.70. statue represented, and he was answered, that it was Antolycus, the founder of Sinope. Lucullus then called to mind, continues Plutarch, what Sylla had recommended to him in his Commentaries, and the animadversion he had made to him, to consider nothing as more certain, and more worthy of entire belief, than what should be foretold to him in dreams. Fine Philosophy, and worthy of Pagan superstition! Lucullus carried away the statue of Antolycus; but left the city all its other ornaments of that kind.

Sinope being taken, the only considerable *Pontus en-* place Mithridates had left, was the city of *tirely jub-* Amasia. It was soon surrendered; and Pon-*jected Lu-* tus was then entirely subjected. It appears, *cullus pas-* that Lucullus passed the winter in this country, *ses the* to confirm his conquest, and accustom the Na-*winter* tion to the Roman government. Whilst he *there,* was there, he received Ambassadors from Marchares, one of the sons of Mithridates who reigned in the Bosphorus. That Prince, seeing his father abandoned by all his subjects, abandoned him also; and having before courted the amity of Lucullus, during the siege of Sinope, he sent him at the time we are speaking of a crown of gold. Lucullus on his side acknowledged him King, and the ally and friend of the Roman People.

Q. HORTENSIUS.

A.R. 683.

Q. CÆCILIVS METELLVS, afterwards sur- Ant C.69.  
named CRETICVS.



A.R. 683.  
Ant. C. 69

*Lucullus  
prepares to  
march a-  
gainst Ti-  
granes.*

Nothing was talked of but the preparations of Tigranes, and it was reported, that he would soon enter Lycaonia and Cilicia with Mithridates, in order to go on and attack the Romans even in their Province of Asia. Lucullus was little terrified by these rumours, for which he saw no foundation. But he was surprized at the conduct of Tigranes, and with reason thought it strange, that he should delay aiding Mithridates, 'till he saw him entirely ruined, thereby exposing himself to the same misfortune; whereas he ought to have assisted him, whilst he supported himself; and joining the forces of Armenia with those of Pontus, have prevented the downfall of his ally.

Lucullus, despising such a weak enemy, did not think it consistent to keep upon the defensive; and seeing the first war at an end, by the entire subjection of the Kingdom of Pontus, and the alliance of Machares, he left Sornatius, one of his Lieutenants, with six thousand men in the country, to keep it in awe, and to oppose Mithridates, in case that Prince should attempt to re-enter his dominions at the head of ten thousand men, whom Tigranes had given him: and as to himself, having only twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse, he prepared to march and attack in the heart of his Kingdom, one of the most powerful sovereigns at that time in the World.

*Many  
blame this  
enterprise  
as rash.*

His enterprize seemed rash to many. They could not conceive how he could venture with so few troops to throw himself into the midst of warlike nations, of which the Cavalry was innumerable, and to engage himself in an immense country, broken by deep rivers, and surrounded with mountains always covered with snow.

snow. His soldiers, who were besides not do- A.R. 683.  
 cile, followed him with reluctance; and he had Ant. C.  
 occasion for all his authority even to oblige them 69.  
 to march. In Rome, when his design was  
 known, the Orators, instigated by his enemies,  
 exclaimed, “ That Lucullus made war produce  
 “ war, not for the necessity or service of the  
 “ Commonwealth, but to be always at the head  
 “ of armies, to perpetuate himself in command,  
 “ and continually to multiply riches by expo-  
 “ sing the Commonwealth to great dangers.”  
 These clamours were but too much heard, and  
 had their effect in the sequel.

However, Lucullus pursued his plan, and af- *Lucullus*  
 ter having crossed the kingdom of Ariobarza- *passes the*  
 nes, a prince in alliance with the Romans, he *Euphrates*  
 advanced to the Euphrates. The winter was *and Tigris.*  
 just over, and he found that river swollen and  
 muddy in effect of the melted snows; which  
 afflicted him extremely, because he apprehend-  
 ed, that it would cost him much time and  
 pains to get boats, and make floats. But to-  
 wards the evening the waters began to fall,  
 and became so low during the night, that  
 at day-break, the river had not only return-  
 ed within it's bed, but several little islands  
 appeared in it, which shewed, that the waters  
 were very low. This event seemed a prodigy  
 to the people of the country; they considered  
 Lucullus as a divine person, to whose desires  
 the river, contrary to all probability, conform-  
 ed, in order to give him an easy and commo-  
 dious passage. The Roman general made haste  
 to seize the interval, and passed the Euphrates  
 without much difficulty. He incamped that  
 day upon the banks of that river. The next and  
 the following days, he crossed Sophene, with-  
 out

A. R. 68; out hurting the country in the leaft; which  
 Ant. C. 69 gained him the affection of the inhabitants, fo  
 that they received the Roman troops with  
 joy, and fupplied them with all the provisions  
 they had occafion for. He was extremely de-  
 firovs to advance; and his foldiers having ex-  
 preffed fome eagernels to attack a fort, which  
 was faid to be full of riches, *There's the fort we  
 muft take*, faid Lucullus to them, pointing to  
 mount Taurus, which was very diftant; *What  
 we leave behind us will be the reward of our vic-  
 tory*. He accordingly continued his march,  
 and having paffed the Tigris, was at hand to  
 attack Tigranocerta.

*Senfelefs  
 and incre-  
 dible pride  
 of Ti-  
 granes.*

It is impoffible not to be furprized to fee  
 Lucullus penetrate in this manner without op-  
 pofition into the centre of the enemy's coun-  
 try. The fenfelefs and incredible pride of Ti-  
 granes is the caufe of it. The firft who brought  
 the news of Lucullus's approach, for the re-  
 ward of his fervice had his head cut off. Af-  
 ter fuch an example we may naturally fuppofe,  
 that no body was in hafte to give that Prince  
 advice of the motions of the Roman army;  
 and whilft his dominions were actually a prey  
 to the enemy, he was flattered by his Courtiers,  
 who told him, “ That Lucullus would be a  
 “ great General indeed, if he only ventured to  
 “ ftay for him at Ephesus, and if he did not fly  
 “ immediately from Afia, when he fhould fee  
 “ the innumerable multitude of combatants he  
 “ had to oppofe.” Such was the blindnefs of  
 this foolifh Prince; a foul too weak, fays Plu-  
 tarch, (a) to fuftain the weight of his fortune,

(a) Οὕτως ἔτε σέμαλ' ἐν εὐτυχίᾳ  
 παρτὸς ἐστὶ πρὸν ἀκρατον μεγάλους μὴ ἐκσῆναι τῶν,  
 ἐπιγχείῃ, ὅτε διαίσιος τῆς λογισμῶν.

like



like those puny constitutions, that wine inebriates, and overcomes. A.R. 683.  
Ant. C.

At length one of those, who had most access <sup>69.</sup> to him, Mithrobarzenes, ventured to tell him *One of his* the truth, and to declare the arrival of Lu- *Generals* cullus. Tigranes always besotted with his gran- *defeated* deur, gave him three thousand horse, and a *and killed.* strong body of foot, with orders to bring him the General of the enemy alive, and to cut the rest to pieces. The commission was more easy to give, than to execute. Mithrobarzenes acted on this occasion like a brave man. When he approached, part of Lucullus's army was pitching their camp, and the other was still upon it's march. That general apprehended being attacked in that posture, and detached Sextilius at the head of sixteen hundred horse, and of a like number of the soldiers of the legions and light armed infantry, commanding them to observe the Armenians, and to prevent them from advancing; but without fighting. Sextilius found it impossible to obey these orders. Mithrobarzenes advanced and charged him with such fury, as obliged him to stand upon his defence. An engagement ensued, in which Mithrobarzenes was killed, and his troops put to flight, and cut to pieces.

Tigranes then began to conceive, that there *Tigranes'* might be some danger in the affair for himself; *abandons* and being obliged to abandon Tigranocerta, he *Tigrano-* retired towards mount Taurus, to draw together *certa.* his forces from all parts of his dominions, sending at the same to inform Mithridates to join him. Lucullus sent out different detachments, both to prevent as much as possible the joining of the troops, that arrived from all sides to Tigranes, as to harrafs that prince himself in his retreat.



A.R. 683. retreat. Murena fell upon him in a pass, where  
 Ant.C. 69. he was obliged to make the troops that were  
 with him, file off: he put them into disorder,  
 killed a great number, and forced the King him-  
 self to fly with precipitation, leaving all his bag-  
 gage to the victor.

*Lucullus,* These first advantages of the Romans were  
*to force Ti-* happy beginnings, but not sufficient to give  
*granes to a* them an absolute superiority. Lucullus feared  
*battle. be-* nothing so much as not to have an opportunity  
*sieges Ti-* to give battle; for he could not support himself  
*granocer-* in an enemy's country only by continual victo-  
*ta.* ries. Accordingly, to induce Tigranes to come  
 to a general battle, he resolved to besiege Ti-  
 granocerta, which was the beloved city of that  
 Prince, his own work and glory; convinced,  
 that he could never suffer the danger of a place  
 so dear to him, without attempting something  
 for it's defence. He had, as we have said, found-  
 ed it himself, and given it his own \* name.  
 He had fortified it with walls fifty cubits high;  
 and of such a thickness, that at bottom they in-  
 cluded stables for a vast number of horses. He  
 had added a citadel to it. He had also built  
 him a Palace in it, and in the suburbs he had  
 parks of vast extent for hunting, and great  
 pieces or pools of water. His subjects in emu-  
 lation of each other, to make their court to their  
 Prince, had spared no expence for adorning it  
 with fine buildings. It was full of riches,  
 paintings and statues of the greatest Masters.  
 He had carried his passion for peopling this city  
 so far, as to transport to it by force all nations,  
 Greeks, Assyrians, Gordyæniâns, Arabians,

\* *Tigranocerta* signifies city of Tigranes.

whose

whose cities he destroyed, and obliged the people to settle at Tigranocerta. A.R. 683.  
Ant.C.69.

Lucullus had judged right, and the event was as he had foreseen. Tigranes, at first a little humbled by the blows he had received, gave ear to the counsels of Mithridates, who wrote to him himself, and caused him to be told by Taxiles, one of his best Generals, that he should not give the Romans battle ; and that they were invincible in action ; but that he would destroy them, by employing his numerous Cavalry to cut off their provisions. Nothing could be wiser, or better judged. But when Tigranes saw so great a number of different nations assembled round him, Armenians and Gordyæni-*Tigranes at first a little humbled, re-sumes courage, and moves against Lucullus.*ans, Medes and Adiabeni-ans, led by their Kings ; Arabians from the parts adjacent to the sea near Babylon, Albanians and Iberians from the coasts of the Caspian sea ; and even the free nations and Nomades (*Tartars*) in the neighbourhood of Araxes, who being subject to no Princes, were allured by the presents and pay of the King of Armenia, that Prince then resumed courage ; and that confidence was still augmented by the discourse of all around him, who at banquets and councils vented nothing but empty boasts and arrogant menaces. Tigranes's pride was puffed up again to such an height, that Taxiles was very near paying the price of his head, for having continued to oppose the design of giving battle. Mithridates, who dissuaded him from it in like manner, became suspected of envying him. With this thought, he was for making haste, lest the King of Pontus should arrive and share the glory of defeating the Romans with him ; and declaring, that he was very sorry, he had only Lucullus, and not all the Roman Generals together

A.R.683. together to fight, he began his march with his  
Ant.C.69. whole army.

His forces were in reality so numerous, that it is no wonder they should inspire so vain a Prince with great confidence. He had twenty thousand archers and slingers, and fifty five thousand horse, seventeen thousand of which were compleatly armed in steel armour. His infantry amounted to an hundred and fifty thousand men, and the pioneers and workmen to thirty five thousand. When this prodigious multitude had passed mount Taurus, and was near enough to be perceived from Tigranocerta, the besieged raised cries of joy, and from the tops of the walls menaced the Romans, by shewing them that cloud of avengers. But their joy was short lived.

*Lucullus*

*marches to  
meet him.*

Lucullus called a council to deliberate upon the resolution he should take. Some were for having him raise the siege, and march against Tigranes; others advised him to continue the siege, and not to leave so important a place with so strong a garrison behind him. He told them, that each of their opinions separately were wrong, but that both together were right. He divided his army, left Murena with six thousand foot before Tigranocerta; and taking with him the rest of his infantry, which scarce amounted to ten thousand men, with all his cavalry, and about a thousand troops armed with miscellaneous weapons, he advanced boldly against the  
*Pleasant-  
ries of the  
Armenians  
upon the  
plain nam  
ber of the  
Roman  
troops.* Armenians, and incamped in a great plain upon the bank of a river that is not named.

When the enemy saw this small body of men, they vied with each other in making jests of them. Some of them were so sure of



of their spoils, that they played at dice for A.R 683.  
them. Each of the Generals and Kings, that Ant.C.69.  
composed the court of Tigranes, went to offer to attack that handful of Romans with their own people, against whom, said they, it is below the dignity of the King of Kings to move in person. Tigranes himself was for shewing his wit on the occasion, and said the following words, which are become famous: *If they are Ambassadors, there are too many of them; and if soldiers, too few.* The day passed thus in jests and bravadoes.

The next morning Lucullus having made his troops stand to their arms, he prepared to pass the river. The Barbarians were to the East; but as the river made an angle to the West at the place where it was easiest to cross it, Lucullus in moving to that ford, seemed to turn his back upon the enemy. Tigranes who perceived that motion, began to triumph, and calling Taxiles, *See*, said he, *your invincible Romans are flying from us.* Taxiles replied, *I wish your Majesty's good fortune may at this time produce what I always thought incredible. But I see their arms glitter; and know when they are upon a march; that they cover them with uppercoats of leather. When they advance against an enemy, they have their shields and helmets uncovered, bright and shining.* Whilst he was still speaking these words, the first of the Roman Eagles was seen to wheel about, followed by the whole column, in order to pass the river. *How*, cried out Tigranes two or three times, in the greatest astonishment, *those people are coming to us!* He then applied to drawing up his army with great precipitation. He took the centre himself, gave



A. R. 683. gave the right to the King of the Medes,  
 Ant. C. 69. and the left to the King of the Adiabeni-  
 ans. He posted in the front of the right wing  
 that heavy unweildy Cavalry, in which the  
 Barbarians placed great confidence.

*Battle.*

When Lucullus was just about to pass the  
 river, somebody observed to him, that he was  
 going to fight on an unlucky day. It was  
 the 6th of October, the day in which Cæpio  
 had formerly been defeated by the Cimbri,  
 and which from that time passed as ominous,  
 and was marked as such in the Roman Ca-  
 lendar. *Well then,* said Lucullus, *I am going*  
*to make a lucky day of it.* At the same in-  
 stant, he passed the river, and marched first  
 towards the enemy, with a cuirass on, wrought  
 in the manner of shells one over the other,  
 and a robe with deep fringes. He held his  
 sword drawn in his hand, to shew his troops  
 that it was necessary to join an enemy accu-  
 stomed to fight at a distance, and to deprive  
 them, by a sudden and expeditious approach,  
 of the space they required for discharging  
 their darts and arrows.

He turned suddenly on the heavy armed  
 Cavalry; who appeared on the enemy's right;  
 and having observed, that they occupied the  
 foot of an hill, on the top of which was a  
 space of even ground, to which the ascent  
 was not difficult, he gave orders to the Thra-  
 cian and Gaulish horse to take that heavy  
 Cavalry in flank, and to endeavour with their  
 swords to make them drop the long lances  
 which they carried, wherein their whole force  
 consisted. For as to the rest, pinioned in  
 some measure in their armour, without their  
 pikes, they could neither act themselves, nor  
 do

do any hurt to the enemy. At the same A.R. 683.  
time Lucullus putting himself at the head of Ant.C.69.  
two cohorts, pushed forwards to gain the top  
of the hill, seconded by the ardour of his  
soldiers; who seeing their General march fore-  
most on foot, without regarding either fatigue  
or danger, followed him with courage and  
entire confidence.

When he arrived at the top he cried out  
twice, *The victory is ours, soldiers, the victory  
is ours!* and he ordered those who attended  
him, not to discharge their javelins, but to  
keep them in their hands, in order to wound  
the enemy with them in their legs and thighs,  
which were the only uncovered parts of their  
bodies. There was no occasion to come to  
that. Those valiant Troopers, all covered  
with iron, had not the courage so much as  
to wait the coming up of the Romans; and  
as soon as they saw them approach, they shame-  
fully fled, raising great cries. Nor was this  
all. In their terrible fright they threw them-  
selves and their horses into their Infantry,  
which they beat down, and put into disorder;  
so that without either a wound, or a drop of  
blood shed, that infinite number of men were  
dispersed and defeated. The Romans had on-  
ly to kill those Barbarians who fled before  
them, or rather would have fled, for they  
could not, because their ranks were closed,  
and being of great depth they clogged each  
other in such a manner, that they could not  
clear themselves to fly.

Tigranes had fled amongst the first with *Flight of*  
a few followers; and seeing his son in the *Tigranes.*  
same condition with himself, he took off his  
diadem, and gave it him weeping, exhort-

A.R. 683. ing him at the fame time to fly a different  
 Ant.C.69. way. The young Prince did not dare to  
 put on the diadem, and gave it to one of  
 his pages, in whom he placed moſt confi-  
 dence. That page, being taken priſoner, was  
 carried to Lucullus; and the diadem of Ti-  
 granes was a part of the ſpoils, and fell into  
 the hands of the victors.

*Irreſiſtible  
 ſlaughter  
 of his  
 army.*

The ſlaughter was horrible, and the more  
 ſo, as Lucullus had taken the precaution to  
 forbid his ſoldiers to amuſe themſelves in  
 ſpoiling the dead. Accordingly marching  
 over bracelets and gorgets, enriched with pre-  
 cious ſtones, they purſued the Barbarians very  
 far, continually putting them to the ſword,  
 till their General, ſeeing the victory entirely  
 compleat, gave the ſignal for retreating.  
 The Romans then returning the ſame way  
 they had moved, gathered the ſpoils at their  
 eaſe. It is ſaid, that on the ſide of the  
 Armenians above an hundred thouſand foot  
 perished with almoſt all their Cavalry. The  
 Romans had only an hundred wounded, and  
 five killed.

We here ſee the prodigy of Sylla's vic-  
 tory at Cheronea repeated. One would al-  
 moſt believe, that the loſs of the Armenians  
 was either exaggerated, or that of the Romans  
 diminiſhed, at pleaſure. But it is certain, that  
 all the Ancients, who have ſpoke of this  
 event, have exhausted themſelves in expreſ-  
 ſing their ſurprize. One, according to Plu-  
 tarch, ſaid, *That the ſun had never ſeen ſuch  
 a day*; another, *That the Romans were even  
 aſhamed to have drawn their ſwords againſt ſuch  
 contemptible enemies*. Livy obſerved, that the  
 Romans had never gained a victory, in which  
 their



their number was so much inferior to that of A.R. 683. the enemy ; for the conquerors were not the twentieth part of the conquered. Ant.C.69.

But a more important observation is that made by the military men upon the conduct of Lucullus. They admired, as he had to make war successively with two great and powerful Kings, that he had known how to conquer them by the quite different methods of protraction and expedition. For he exhausted Mithridates before Cyzicum, and afterwards at Cabiræ, by delays, and almost without action, and he crushed Tigranes by haste and activity. He therefore acquired a glory, very uncommon amongst Generals, of employing both an active slowness, and a boldness that annihilates danger by preventing it. *Important observation on the conduct of Lucullus.*

Mithridates was deceived by the latter ; and imagining that Lucullus would act with his usual reserve and circumspection, he did not think himself obliged to use diligence for joining Tigranes. He was apprized of his ally's defeat by those, who met him in their flight. He sought the King of Armenia, and having found him in a wretched condition, dejected, terrified, in want of all things, he did not insult his misfortune ; and having dismounted he deplored with him their common calamities, gave him a train and a guard suitable to his rank, and endeavoured to re-animate him in respect to the future. Those two Princes in consequence applied themselves to assembling new forces. *Mithridates rejoins Tigranes.*

The natural consequence of Lucullus's victory, was the taking of Tigranocerta. That city however did not surrender immediately, *Taking and destruction of Tigranocerta.*

A. R 683. Manceus, who was it's governor, undertook  
 Ant.C.69. to defend it; and he did not fail to find  
 the Romans employment for some time, ef-  
 Xiphilin. pecially with the affiftance of *naphtha*, which  
 ex Dione they difcharged upon them. This is a kind  
 of *bitumen*, which eafily kindles, that takes  
 hold of every thing, and which water itfelf  
 can fcarce extinguifh. But a divifion arofe  
 in the city. Manceus diftrufing the Greeks,  
 and with reason, (for they were all for open-  
 ing the gates to the Roman general) difarm-  
 ed them. The latter apprehending fomewhat  
 worfe, rofe in a body, and having armed  
 themfelves with clubs, and wrapt their ha-  
 bits round their left arms to ferve them in-  
 ftead of bucklers, they fought the Barbarians,  
 who, compleatly armed as they were, could  
 not refift them; and the victors, as faft as  
 they beat down any one, feized their arms.  
 They were then in a condition to give terror;  
 and having made themfelves mafters of fome  
 of the towers, that flanked the walls, they  
 called to the Romans, and affifted them in  
 entering.

\* About  
 twelve  
 hundred  
 thoufand  
 pounds.

† About  
 twenty  
 pounds.

Lucullus having in this manner taken Ti-  
 granocerta, put only the King's treasures in-  
 to the quæftors hands, and gave up the city  
 to be plundered by the troops. There were  
 found in it, without including the reft, \* eight  
 thoufand talents of gold and filver coined;  
 and the general further diftributed † eight  
 hundred *denarii* to each foldier. Tigranes had  
 drawn together abundance of comedians, mu-  
 ficians, and dancers, for the opening of a  
 theatre, which he had caufed to be erec-  
 ted. The conqueror referved them to cele-  
 brate the games, which he fhould give at  
 his

his triumph. He sent home all the Greeks A R. 683.  
into their own country, supplying them with Ant.C.69.  
the expences of their journey. He treated  
the Barbarians in the same manner, whom Ti-  
granes had forced from their own countries to  
settle at Tigranocerta, which was destroyed in  
this manner before it was entirely finished.  
Lucullus reduced it to the condition of a mean  
little town, and by dispersing the inhabitants of  
a single city, repopled a great number, which  
considered him as their benefactor and second  
founder.

Every thing (a) else succeeded in like man- *Lucullus*  
ner to this general, more desirous of the *gains the*  
glory of justice and humanity than of that *hearts of*  
acquired by arms. And indeed, says Plu- *the con-*  
tarch, his army, and still more fortune, di- *quered*  
vided the latter with him; whereas the other *Barba-*  
was entirely due to his personal qualities and *rians.*  
the lenity of a generous soul, improved by  
study and polite learning. Accordingly he  
subjected the Barbarians by this method even  
without employing force. He had found in  
Tigranocerta several illustrious princeesses, whom Dio  
he treated with all the regard due to their XXXV.  
sex and rank; and he thereby acquired the  
amity of the princes their husbands, who were  
in the service of Tigranes. The Arabian kings  
came of themselves to him, to put all their  
interests into his hands. The nation of the So- Plat.

(a) Πρεχάρει ὃ καὶ τᾶλλα ἡ στρατία, καὶ πλεῖστον ἡ τύχη  
κατ' ἀξίαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ, τῶν μετεῖχε ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἡμέ-  
ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ φιλαί- ρε ψυχῆς καὶ πεπαιδευμένης  
θρωπίας ἐπαίνων ὀρεγόμενῳ ἐπίδειξις, οἷς ὁ Λέκελλος  
μᾶλλον, ἢ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πο- τότε χωρὶς ὅπλων ἐχειρῶτο  
λεμικοῖς κατορθώμασιν. ἐ- τὲς βαρβάρους. *Plut. in Luc.*  
χρίνων μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγον



A.R. 653. phenians, promised him obedience; and that of  
 Ant.C.69. the Gordyenians conceived such an affection for him, that they were for leaving their country and cities to follow him with their wives and children. So warm an attachment for Lucullus was occasioned by the following circumstance.

When Appius Claudius was sent ambassador to Tigranes, he had made a considerable stay at Antioch, expecting that prince, who was actually employed at the siege of Ptolemais. The Roman did not lose his time; and knowing that Zarbienus, King of the Gordyenians, impatiently bore the tyranny of Tigranes, he sounded him, and opened a negotiation with him. But the intrigue was discovered, and the King of the Gordyenians was put to death with his wife and children, before the Romans entered Armenia. When Lucullus was master of the country, he did not forget that unfortunate ally. He went to Gordyenia, caused obsequies to be celebrated to him, erected a funeral pile, which he adorned magnificently, as well with what the Gordyenian prince had possessed of most valuable, as out of the spoils conquered from Tigranes; he set fire to it himself, and made the customary libations with the relations and friends of Zarbienus. And lastly, he erected a superb monument to him, employing for that use part of the treasures, which he found in the palace of that prince. The reward of these humane acts of respect, was the affection which the ancient subjects of Zarbienus conceived for him. He found also in his magazines three millions of (a) medimni of corn: so that the Roman army enjoyed the utmost plenty, and a

(a) *About fifteen millions of our bushels.*

general was infinitely admired, who without A.R. 683.  
receiving a single drachma from the public Ant.C.69.  
treasury, sustained the expences of the war by  
the war itself.

In the mean time Tigranes and Mithridates  
spared no pains to draw the King of Parthia *Tigranes  
sends am-  
bassadors  
to the king  
of Par-  
thia. Let-  
ter of Mi-  
thridates  
to the same  
prince.  
Plut.  
Appian.  
Memnon.  
Dio.*  
into their alliance, who was then called Sina-  
truces (\*). Tigranes sent ambassadors to him,  
offering to cede Mesopotamia, Adiabenia, and  
that part of Armenia, which the Parthians had  
formerly taken from him, and he had after-  
wards reconquered. Mithridates wrote also a  
letter to Sinatruces. His letter is still extant  
amongst the fragments of Sallust. He shews  
in it great address and ability, and represents  
things in the light most advantageous to his in-  
terests, and most proper to make impression  
upon the prince he desires to gain. There had  
been wars between Tigranes and the Kings of  
Parthia; and the present situation of the affairs  
of the two Kings of Pontus and Armenia did  
not invite him to join with them. Mithridates  
prevents those two objections, and endeavours  
to give them the turn of proofs. Tigranes (a),  
says he, “now humbled, will receive the law  
“from you, and buy your alliance with such  
“conditions as you shall dictate: and as to  
“my misfortunes, if fortune had deprived me  
“of many things, she has at least taught me  
“experience, the best source of good counsel;

\* Some authors say Phra- dendi; & quod florentibus  
bates son of Sinatruces. optabile est, ego non vali-

(a) Ille obnoxius, qualem diffimus præbeo exemplum,  
tu voles, societatem accipiet: qua rectius tua componas.  
mihi Fortuna, multis rebus Sallust.  
ereptis, usum dedit bene sua-

A.R. 683. “ and nothing is more desirable for a great  
 Ant. C. 69. “ King like you, whose affairs are in a flourish-  
 “ ing condition, than to have an example in  
 “ me, that may shew you the method of sup-  
 “ porting yourself, and conducting your affairs  
 “ with more success than I have done.”

Here follows a violent invective against the Romans, in which Mithridates endeavours to prove, by reciting all their history, their insatiable ambition, and unbounded avidity. To these motives he ascribes the war they made on him, of the events of which he repeats an abridgment, giving an artificial account of his defeats, which he attributes to unfortunate circumstances, treasons, and shipwrecks. From thence he proceeds to insinuate to the King of Parthia, that he is menaced with the same dangers.  
 “ Do you (a) not know, says he, that the Ro-  
 “ mans, since the ocean set bounds to their  
 “ conquests on the side of the west, have  
 “ turned their arms towards the countries in-  
 “ habited by us? That from the beginning  
 “ they have had nothing, which has not been  
 “ the fruits of injustice and violence, their  
 “ houses, their wives, lands, empire? A vile  
 “ mixture of wretches in their origin, with-

(a) An ignoras Romanos, postquam ad Occidentem pergentibus finem Oceanus fecit, arma hæc convertisse? neque quidquam à principio nisi raptum habere; domum conjuges, agros, imperium: convenas olim, sine patria, sine parentibus, peste condi- tos orbis terrarum: quibus non humana ulla neque di- vitiæ obstant, quin socios	amicos procul juxta fitos incopes potentesque trahant excidantque; omniaque non serva, & maximè regna, ho- stilia decant — Romani in omnes arma habent; acerrima in eos quibus victis spolia maxima sunt. Audendo, & fallendo, & bella ex bellis ferendo magni facti, per hunc morem extinguunt omnia,
--	--

“ out



“ out country, without relations, founded for A. R. 683.  
 “ the misfortune of the universe : neither di- Ant. C 69.  
 “ vine nor human laws prevent them from at-  
 “ tacking and destroying all that oppose them,  
 “ even allies and friends, neighbouring or  
 “ foreign states, the weak or the powerful ;  
 “ in a word, they regard all as enemies, that  
 “ do not submit to the yoke of slavery, and  
 “ especially Kings. Arms they bear against  
 “ all mankind, but particularly those from  
 “ whose defeat they hope the greatest spoils.  
 “ Become great by audacity, deceit, and by  
 “ making one war produce another, they must,  
 “ in pursuing the same conduct, either bear  
 “ down all before them, or perish them-  
 “ selves.”

And lastly Mithridates promises Sinatruces  
 an easy and certain success, if he will unite with  
 him and Tigranes ; and at the same time, as  
 the last motive, sets before him (a) the glory  
 he will acquire, at once by aiding great Kings,  
 and destroying the robbers of the universe.

Lucullus had advice of this negotiation, and *Lucullus is*  
 endeavoured to render it abortive. The King *for attack-*  
 of Parthia heard the proposals of both parties, *ing the*  
 with the resolution to comply with neither, but *Partbi-*  
 to remain neuter. He was too much afraid of *ans, but*  
 the Romans, either to draw their arms upon *is prevent-*  
 him, or to promote an excessive increase of their *ed by the*  
 power in his neighbourhood. Lucullus dissatis- *disobedi-*  
 fied with this fluctuating and ambiguous con- *ence of*  
 duct, and besides ardent for glory, resolved to *his soldiers.*  
 attack him. He thought it glorious for him *Piut.*  
 in the course of the same war to dethrone three

(a) Te illa fama sequetur, | Regibus latrones gentium  
 auxilio profectum magnis | oppressisse.

Kings,

A.R. 683; Kings, and to carry his arms successively, al-  
Ant C 63. ways invincible, and always victorious, thro'  
the three greatest empires at that time under  
heaven.

He therefore sent orders to Sornatius, whom he had left in Pontus, as we have said, with six thousand men, to join him with those troops in Gordyenia, from whence he intended to enter the country of the Parthians. But Sornatius's soldiers, that had long been hard to govern, and mutinous, then shewed their insolence openly ; for neither perswasion, nor authority, could reduce them to march. On the contrary they declared, that they would not even continue in Pontus, but would abandon it, and return to Italy. The example of this disobedience reached the camp of Lucullus like a contagion. His soldiers grown rich, and accustomed to voluptuousness, were at length for renouncing the fatigues of war, and enjoying repose. Accordingly, from their being informed of the revolt of those in Pontus, they cried them up as men of courage. " Let us follow their exam-  
" ple, said they. Have we not served long  
" and gloriously enough to deserve to be dis-  
" missed, and to conceive thoughts of an agree-  
" able and honourable retreat?" These murmurs forced Lucullus to renounce the design of making war with the Parthians, and he prepared to march against Tigranes.

A.R. 684.  
Ant C. 63.

Q. MARCIUS REX.  
L. CÆCILIVS METELLVS.

*Tigranes  
and Mith-  
ridates  
raise a  
revolt.*

The two Kings had passed the winter in making new preparations. At the beginning of the spring they found that they had assembled  
an

an army of seventy thousand foot and thirty-five thousand horse. Mithridates, whom Tigranes taught, by his misfortunes, suffered to take upon him the principal command, had raised these troops in Armenia, had divided them according to the Roman method, and caused them to be exercised by officers of experience, his own subjects. He had also caused great quantities of arms to be made in all the cities. However, with all this, the two Kings did not go in quest of Lucullus, but the Roman general passed mount Taurus to join them.

He set out in the midst of summer, and was much surprized, when he had passed the mountains to find the country on the other side still entirely verdant. The mountains and woods, with which Armenia abounds, retard the fine season there. These remains of winter did not prevent him from acting; and pursuing his plan of bringing the enemy to a battle, he ravaged the country, and also endeavoured to seize the magazines, which the two Kings had provided for their armies. On this occasion there were several skirmishes, in which the Roman foot had always the advantage. But the Armenian cavalry very much incommoded the Romans, fighting after the Parthian manner, and becoming often more formidable when they fled. They also made use of arrows, of which the wounds were very dangerous; because those arrows had two iron points, one of which being weakly fastened to the principal blade, entered into the wound; but as it was very small and had several beards, it could not be extracted without great pain and difficulty.

Lucullus,



A.R. 684. Lucullus, on the whole, had however the  
 Ant.C. 68. advantage. He was master of the flat coun-  
*To force* try; and Mithridates, incamped on an emi-  
*them to a* nence, continually avoided a general action;  
*battle, he* whilst Tigranes with the cavalry harrassed the  
*prepares* Romans in the plain. This manner of making  
*to besiege* war did not at all suit the Roman general.  
*Artaxata.* He therefore determined to employ the same  
 expedient he had used the year before for for-  
 cing the enemy to a battle; and he marched  
 with design to besiege Artaxata, one of the  
 royal cities of Tigranes, in which were his  
 wives and younger children. He judged with  
 reason, that so tender an interest would not suf-  
 fer the King of Armenia to remain quiet. Ac-  
 cordingly Tigranes no sooner perceived the de-  
 sign of Lucullus, than he marched to meet him,  
 and incamped upon the bank of the river Ar-  
 sanias, which the Romans were to pass in their  
 way to Artaxata.

*For the*  
*fight, in*  
*which Lu*  
*cullus*  
*gains the*  
*victory.*

Lucullus thought, that to see the enemy and  
 to conquer them, was the same thing. Accord-  
 ingly full of confidence, he passed the river,  
 and drew up his army in battle. His front  
 consisted of twelve cohorts, making in all six  
 thousand men. The other cohorts formed the  
 body of reserve, to move on all sides as it  
 might be necessary; for the great number of  
 the enemy made the Roman general appre-  
 hend, that they might endeavour to surround  
 him. As soon as they came to blows, the Ro-  
 man infantry had soon decided the victory.  
 The Barbarians, as well horse as foot, could not  
 stand their ground before them, who no sooner  
 appeared, than they betook themselves to flight.  
 Three Kings were present at this battle. Ti-  
 granes, Mithridates, King of Pontus, and ano-  
 ther

ther Mithridates, King of the Medes. Not A.R.684.  
 one of the three shewed less resolution than the Ant.C.68.  
 King of Pontus: he fled shamefully; being  
 long accustomed to make no resistance against  
 Lucullus. The Barbarians were entirely de-  
 feated. The slaughter however was not so  
 great as in the battle of the preceding year;  
 but there were more persons of note among the  
 dead.

Tigranes had been entirely ruined, if the  
 Roman troops had answered the ardour and ac-  
 tivity of their general. Lucullus was for push-  
 ing the conquered enemy, and compleating the  
 conquest of the vast dominions of the King of  
 Armenia. The badness of the season absolutely  
 disgusted his soldiers. It was now the autum-  
 nal equinox, and the country was already co-  
 vered with frost and snow, which rendered the  
 rivers impracticable. These difficulties did not  
 stop Lucullus. But a disobedient army, which  
 had once before given their general the law,  
 could not fail of carrying their point with so  
 specious a pretext. Accordingly, after having  
 marched with tranquillity enough for some  
 days, they on a sudden began to shew their re-  
 pugnance. At first they behaved with some  
 kind of moderation, sending their tribunes to  
 make their remonstrances to Lucullus. But not  
 obtaining any thing by this method, they as-  
 sembled in bodies in a tumultuous manner, and  
 during the night nothing was heard but con-  
 fused and menacing cries from their tents; so  
 that the general seeing all things prepared for a  
 revolt, was exceedingly embarrassed.

He had recourse to exhortations and entrea-  
 ties, conjuring his soldiers to have but a little  
 patience, 'till they had compleated the destruc-  
 tion

A.R. 684. tion of *the Carthage of Armenia*. So he called  
 Ant.C. 68. the city of Artaxata, which was said to have  
 been built by Hannibal, when that illustrious  
 fugitive, after the defeat of Antiochus, had re-  
 tired from the court of Artaxias, the head of  
 the house from which Tigranes was descended.  
 Lucullus was therefore for animating his troops  
 by the motive of destroying that monument  
 of the greatest enemy the Romans had ever  
 had. But nothing was capable of altering  
 them: he was reduced to repass mount Tau-  
 rus, and set down before Nisibis, a city situ-  
 ated in a mild climate, and in the midst of a  
 fertile country.

*He besieges  
 and takes  
 Nisibis.* In this place, which was then important, and  
 which in process of time became very famous  
 under the emperors, Guras the brother of Ti-  
 granes had the honour of commandant; but  
 the person who really executed the functions of  
 that office, was the same Callimachus, who had  
 defended Amisus against the Romans, and on  
 quitting it had set fire to it. Lucullus attack-  
 ed Nisibis with vigour, and at the end of a few  
 days carried it by storm. Guras, who became  
 his prisoner, was treated with favour and hu-  
 manity. But Callimachus, though he promised  
 to discover hidden treasures, could not obtain  
 grace. The victor caused him to be laden  
 with chains, and kept in that condition with his  
 army 'till his triumph; resolving to make him  
 then undergo the punishment he deserved for  
 burning of Amisus. He could not forgive  
 him for having deprived him of the satisfac-  
 tion of exercising his clemency and generosity,  
 in respect to one of the most illustrious of the  
 Greek cities.

The



The Roman army took up it's winter-quarters in it's new conquest, and passed the bad season commodiously and at repose in a good city and a fine country. A.R.684.  
Ant.C.68.

M. ACILIUS GLABRIO.  
C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

A R.685.  
Ant.C.67.

Hitherto Lucullus had been continually attended by the most glorious prosperity. But from this period, as if the favourable wind, that had hitherto so faithfully filled his sails, had abandoned him on a sudden, he was obliged to struggle incessantly with obstacles, and found rocks and quick-sands every where. His virtue supported him: he was always the same man, and of the same undaunted courage; but that lustre, that felicity of success, was wanting to all his enterprizes; and miscarrying in every thing he undertook, he was very near losing even the glory of his past victories. *Beginning of Lucullus's bad successes.*

He might have ascribed great part of this to himself, having taken no manner of pains to conciliate the affection of his soldiers. He did not know how to render himself amiable, and looked upon every step taken to please those whose duty it was to obey, as a lessening of his person, and a degradation of command. His haughtiness rose so high as to observe no forms even with the principal officers of his army, and such as might become his equals. And thus we see, that no human virtue is exempt from some blot or failing. Lucullus, to consider him in every other light, appears a most accomplished person; a great general, a great orator, one that loved and cultivated the sciences, full of probity and noble sentiments, *Haughtiness had alienated the affection of his troops.*

A R 68; ments, and capable of meriting esteem and even  
 Ant.C.67- admiration, both in war and peace. He had  
 wanted nothing, had he possessed the art of  
 making himself beloved.

*Origin of  
 the discon-  
 tent of his  
 army.*

The discontent of his soldiers had a very re-  
 mote origin. Two successive winters, in which  
 they had undergone great fatigues, first near  
 Cyzicum, and next before Amisus, had began  
 to occasion their complaints. The winters that  
 ensued, afforded them no great mitigation.  
 They had been obliged to pass them all either  
 in the enemy's country, or, if not, in camp ;  
 for Lucullus never put his troops into quarters  
 in any of the Greek cities, or of the allies of  
 the Roman people. This discipline was cer-  
 tainly severe ; and being attended with haughti-  
 ness of behaviour, it could but alienate the sol-  
 diers, who knew, that their substitution had no  
 longer duration than that of the service, and  
 that when they returned into their country, and  
 from soldiers were become citizens, they should  
 repossess a kind of equality with their gene-  
 ral.

*The sol-  
 diers are  
 supported  
 by a decree  
 of the peo-  
 ple, which  
 disbands  
 part of  
 Lucullus's  
 troops, and  
 appoints  
 him suc-  
 cessors.  
 Dio.  
 Plut.*

In this bad disposition of mind they received  
 advice, that they were seconded in Rome by  
 haranguers, whom envy excited against Lucul-  
 lus, and who publicly accused him of an insa-  
 turable avidity of command, and of riches. The  
 people were told, that Lucullus had not pushed  
 either Mithridates or Tigranes with vigour,  
 after having defeated them ; in order to leave  
 those two kings time to retrieve their affairs :  
 which made him necessary, and supplied him  
 with a pretext for keeping, during a long suc-  
 cession of years, an unbounded command, that  
 included Cilicia, the province of Asia, Bithy-  
 nia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia,  
 and

and Colchis, as far as the Phasis. *And, in the* A.R. 685.  
*last place,* said one of those wretched declaim- Ant. C.  
*ers, he has lately plundered the royal city of Ti-* 67.  
*granes, as if we had sent him to prey upon the*  
*kings, and not to subdue them.* Another, this Cic. pro  
 was Gabinius, displayed a painting to the eyes Sext. n. 93.  
 of the people, in which the house Lucullus had  
 caused to be built in the country was drawn; a  
 worthy censure of a luxury, which he soon ex-  
 ceeded himself, and which he only condemned  
 out of envy. These discourses and artifices had  
 their effect; and the people first decreed, that  
 the oldest of Lucullus's troops, and especially  
 Fimbria's legions, should be dismissed: in the  
 second place, that he should be appointed suc-  
 cessors, who were Q. Marcius Rex, Consul the  
 preceding year, for Cilicia, and M. Acilius  
 Glabrio, actually Consul, for Bithynia and Pon-  
 tus, and to command in the war against the  
 kings Mithridates and Tigranes.

And lastly, what gave the final blow to the *The sedi-*  
 authority of Lucullus, and perhaps contributed *tion of the*  
 more than any thing else to excite his soldiers *soldiers*  
 against him, were the discourses and intrigues *carried to*  
 of a man, of whom we shall have frequent oc- *excess by*  
 casion to speak in the sequel, and of whom we *the dis-*  
 shall never have any thing not bad to say. This *courses of*  
 was P. Clodius, whose enmity to Cicero has *P. Clodius.*  
 made him so famous; a truly wicked man,  
 who dishonoured the lustre of his birth and name  
 by all manner of crimes; a man void of ho-  
 nour, and all sense of shame and probity; bold  
 and rash enough to dare all things, and de-  
 bauched to such an excess, as to be suspected, not  
 without foundation, of incest with all his sisters;  
 one of whom was the wife of Lucullus. Clodius  
 was at that time in the army of his brother-in-



A. R. 63; law, greatly dissatisfied for not having been so  
 Ant. C. much considered as he desired. He had ambition  
 67. enough to aspire at the first rank; and however,  
 his bad morals and unworthiness determined  
 Lucullus to prefer many others before him.  
 This factious relation therefore sought revenge,  
 by inflaming the soldiers against their General.

He applied himself in particular to those,  
 who had served under Fimbria, and who were  
 of themselves, as I have already said several  
 times, much inclined to sedition. He pre-  
 tended concern for them, asking, “ Whether  
 “ soldiers who had grown old under arms, were  
 “ never to see an end of wars and fatigues ;  
 “ whether they were to pass their lives in attack-  
 “ ing all nations one after another, and suc-  
 “ cessively to overrun the whole Universe ; and  
 “ that without any other advantage from so  
 “ many labours and dangers, than to be em-  
 “ ployed in convoying the carriages and camels  
 “ of Lucullus, laden with golden vessels glit-  
 “ tering with gems.” *The soldiers of Pompey,*  
*on the contrary, said he, who have neither driven*  
*Mitbridates and Tigranes into uninhabitable deserts,*  
*nor forced the royal cities of Asia, but who have*  
*only had to oppose some exiles in Spain and slaves*  
*in Italy, now enjoy perfect repose with their wives*  
*and children, possessing good lands, and inhabiting*  
*fine cities. If therefore, added he, we are de-*  
*stined to make war without end, let us reserve the*  
*strength we have for a General, who makes it*  
*his greatest glory to enrich the soldiers, that have*  
*served him well.*

*Mitbri-  
 dates and  
 Tigranes  
 reinstate  
 them-  
 selves.*

It is easy to conceive what effect such dis-  
 courses produced among the troops. Lucullus  
 was no longer master of them, and their dis-  
 obedience reduced him to suffer his conquests  
 to

to be taken from him by conquered enemies. A.R. 685.  
 For Tigranes and Mithridates did not fail to Ant. C.  
 take advantage of his involuntary inaction. The 67.  
 first re-entered Armenia, and obliged L. Fan- Plut.  
 nius, who commanded there for the Romans, Appian.  
 to shut himself up in a castle, where he would Dio.  
 very soon have been forced to surrender, if  
 Lucullus had not sent him aid.

Mithridates on his side, with four thousand  
 of his own troops, and an equal number of Ar-  
 menians, with which Tigranes had supplied him,  
 took measures for reconquering his dominions,  
 and partly succeeded in it, not so much in effect  
 of his own valour and the affection of his people  
 for their rightful and natural Prince, as the  
 faults of his enemies. For the Commanders,  
 whom Lucullus had left in these newly sub-  
 jected countries, not only acted with negligence,  
 but by their exactions made the Roman Go-  
 vernment hateful. In consequence Mithridates  
 found an easy entrance into Pontus. Fabius  
 Adrianus having marched against him, was de-  
 feated, and put to the rout, so that the body of  
 troops, which he commanded, would have been  
 either entirely dispersed or destroyed, if the King  
 of Pontus, whilst he exposed his person with  
 the boldness of a young warrior, though near  
 seventy years old, had not received two wounds  
 that obliged him to quit the field, one on the  
 knee with a stone, and the other with an arrow  
 a little below the eye. This event slackened  
 the ardour of the victors; and enabled the re-  
 mainder of the Romans, with their chief, Adri-  
 anus, to gain the fort of Cabiræ, in which they  
 shut themselves up.

Mithridates was not long delayed by his  
 wounds. He caused them to be dressed by the

A.R. 685.  
Ant. C.  
67.

Agarians, a Scythian nation, who, as Appian tells us, had the secret to cure wounds with the poison of serpents. I leave this fact to be better determined by the professors of physic, which I repeat as I find it in my author. The king of Pontus was no sooner cured, than he went to besiege Adrianus. But he was soon informed, that Triarius was arrived, with all the troops he could hastily draw together. He did not think it proper to wait for him, and retired. Triarius pursued him as far as Comanæ, and even gained a small advantage over him, which put an end to the campaign. For all that I have just been relating concerning the motions of Tigranes and Mithridates, belongs to the preceding year, and the time, when Lucullus besieged Nisibis, and after having taken it, put his troops into winter quarters there.

*Bigod's de-  
fect of  
Triarius.*

At the return of the spring, Mithridates, who without doubt had received considerable recruits, undertook to drive Triarius entirely out of the kingdom of Pontus, before Lucullus had time to come to his aid. The Roman kept some time upon the defensive, and declined a battle. The king, to force him to it, prepared to attack a castle, in which was all the heavy baggage of the Roman army. This step succeeded. The soldiers of Triarius, being unwilling to lose their baggage, forced their commander to fight, who also flattered himself with the hope of conquering in the absence of his general. The two armies met three miles from Ziela or Zela, a city, that became famous in the Roman History from this action. Triarius was entirely defeated; and only saved some scattered remains of his troops from slaughter, because Mithri-

dates



dates was again wounded. As that prince had amongst his troops many persons drest and armed after the Roman manner, he did not suspect a centurion, that approached him, and who, when he least suspected it, gave him a wound in the thigh with his sword. The centurion was killed upon the spot. But the king was so much hurt, that it was necessary to carry him off immediately; and his generals caused the retreat to be sounded, and desisted from pursuing the Romans. This was the most bloody defeat they had experienced during the whole course of this war against Mithridates; and Cicero had reason to say, that (*a*) that prince, after having been conquered, did more than he could have hoped, when his forces were entire. Seven thousand Romans remained upon the field of battle, amongst whom were four and twenty tribunes, and an hundred and twenty centurions. The same (*b*) Cicero, without entering into any detail, gives us a still stranger idea of the loss of the Romans on this occasion, when he says, that Lucullus received the news of it from the rumour that spread, and not from any soldier who had escaped from the battle.

Lucullus could not prevent these misfortunes, for his soldiers had refused to follow him. When they knew that Triarius was in danger, shame rendered them tractable, and they consented to march. But it was too late, and Lucullus did not arrive in Pontus 'till after the disaster. It

(*a*) Victus tantum efficere potuit, quam tum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. *Cic. pro L. Manil. n. 25.* nostram calamitatem: quæ tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculli non ex prælio nuncius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret. *Id. ibid.*

A R. 63; was not without great difficulty, that he saved  
 Ant. C. Triarius from the fury of the soldiers, who were  
 67. for tearing him in pieces. He supplied him  
 with means for escaping by flight.

*Inimitable  
 eloquence  
 of the  
 great  
 Lucullus.* Mithridates had always been afraid of Lu-  
 cullus, and as soon as he came against him, he  
 industriously sought delays, contenting himself  
 with keeping in secure posts; and the rather,  
 as he expected Tigranes, who having reposses-  
 sed himself of the greatest part of his domi-  
 nions, had assembled a considerable army, and  
 was upon the march to aid him. The Roman  
 General not being able to force Mithridates to  
 hazard an action, resolved to move against Ti-  
 granes, in hopes to find his troops fatigued by  
 a long march, and to defeat them with ease,  
 by attacking them unexpectedly. This plan  
 was well formed; but the Roman soldiers dis-  
 concerted it by obstinate disobedience; for after  
 having followed their great Captain some time,  
 when they saw that he directed his march to-  
 wards Cappadocia, they absolutely refused to  
 go on. There was no kind of submission to  
 which Lucullus did not descend, in hopes of  
 dissuading them. He went from tent to tent,  
 imploring them with tears, taking them by  
 the hand, and using all manner of caresses that  
 he could imagine. But the evil had taken  
 too deep root to admit of a remedy. They  
 presented him their empty purses with bitter  
 reproaches, and told him, that he who enrich-  
 ed only himself by war, ought to make war  
 alone.

What particularly increased the insolence of  
 Fimbria's legions, was their being informed of  
 the decree, by which they were disbanded,  
 and Glabrio appointed to succeed Lucullus.

That

That Consul was already in Bithynia, and had A.R. 685. caused publication to be made in all the adja- Ant. C. cent countries, that the Roman people had put 67. an end to Lucullus's command, and that he prohibited all persons from following and obeying his orders, upon pain of confiscation of their estates. The soldiers of Fimbria in consequence considered Lucullus only as a private person, without any legal power or authority. All that the soldiers of the other legions, who still respected their General, could obtain from these mutineers, was, that they should continue with the army to the end of the campaign; but on express condition, that if the enemy did not appear during that interval, they should be entirely at liberty to withdraw.

Lucullus was under the necessity of comply- *They go on* ing with what they thought fit to grant, to *to incredi-* avoid being totally abandoned, and seeing the *ble info-* whole country return again into the hands of *lence, and* the Barbarians. Thus, thinking himself happy *abandon* in having a body of an army, which however *him.* did not serve him, he was compelled to suffer Cappadocia to be ravaged by Tigranes, and to bear the insults of Mithridates, after having wrote to the Senate, that he had subdued and taken the spoils of those two Kings, and that it was necessary to send to him, according to custom, ten Commissioners to regulate with him the state of his new conquests. They arrived in effect at the time of which we are speaking, and found Lucullus so little master of the enemy's country, that his own troops were not at his command; but, on the contrary, ruled, and gave him the law. He was reduced to declare, that the remainder of the war related no longer to him, but to Glabrio, who had been nominated



A R. 685. to succeed him ; whilst Glabrio on his side,  
 Ant. C. who had expressed great ardour, when he be-  
 67. lieved, that he had nothing to do but to reap  
 the fruits of his predecessor's victory, kept  
 aloof, when he had a sense of the difficulty and  
 danger.

In the mean time the end of the summer  
 arrived, which was the term they had pre-  
 scribed for their service to Lucullus. They were  
 not contented with putting that menace in execu-  
 tion, they even treated their general with an in-  
 solence scarce credible. They quitted the camp,  
 and having drawn their swords, they called up-  
 on the enemy with great cries, who not appear-  
 ing, after having brandished them in the air  
 with all the motions used by soldiers in battle,  
 they pretended they had performed their en-  
 gagements, and declared they would retire.  
 Lucullus was under the necessity of dismissing  
 them. He also sent part of the other troops to  
 Glabrio, and kept with him only an inconfi-  
 derable number of soldiers, with whom it was  
 impossible for him to undertake any thing fur-  
 ther.

*Plutarch's* And in this manner terminated all the glori-  
*relation.* ous victories of Lucullus. One single failing  
 cost him the fruits of many virtues ; and with-  
 out having experienced personally a single de-  
 feat, his haughtiness hurt him more than the  
 loss of many battles could have done. “ If to  
 “ all the other great qualities he possessed, says  
 “ Plutarch, valour, activity, transcendant abi-  
 “ lity, and the love of justice, he had joined  
 “ the most essential, which is the art of con-  
 “ ciliating affection, the Empire of the Ro-  
 “ mans would not have had the Euphrates for  
 “ it's boundary, but the extremities of the East  
 “ and

“ and Caspian sea. For by conquering Ti- A.R. 685.  
 “ granes, they would have taken advantage of Ant. C.  
 “ his victories, and subjected all the nations 67.  
 “ that prince had conquered. And as to the  
 “ Parthians, they were not so powerful then as  
 “ afterwards, when Crassus attacked them.  
 “ Torn by civil wars, and harrassed by their  
 “ neighbours, they were not capable even of  
 “ resisting a king of Armenia.”

The advantages gained by Lucullus turned, *The victo-*  
 in the sequel, to the prejudice of the Roman *ries of Lu-*  
 name. For, as the same historian observes, *cullus oc-*  
 whose reflections are always just and material, *casioned*  
 “ the conquest of Tigranocerta and Nisibis, *the misfor-*  
 “ the immense riches brought from those coun- *tunes of*  
 “ tries to Rome, and the diadem of Tigranes *Crassus.*  
 “ borne in pomp in the triumph of Lucullus ;  
 “ these were what gave Crassus the idea and  
 “ desire of carrying the Roman arms into the  
 “ East. He imagined, that those Barbarians  
 “ were only an easy prey for whoever should  
 “ go to fetch it. But the arrows of the Par-  
 “ thians soon taught him the contrary ; and his  
 “ deplorable defeat, shews, that Lucullus owed  
 “ his victories, not so much to the imprudence  
 “ and effeminacy of the enemy, as to his own  
 “ personal valour and great ability.”

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

A.R. 686.

L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.

Ant. C.

66.

Every thing in Asia continued in a kind of *Pompey is*  
 suspense. Lucullus could act no longer. Gla- *elected to*  
 brio, as it appears, was a person of mean parts *succeed Lu-*  
 and capacity. A new general, who was nomi- *cullus.*  
 nated in the year upon which we are now en-  
 tering, rekindled the war, and at length termi-  
 nated

A.R. 686. nated it. This was Pompey, who the year be-  
 Ann. C. fore had received an almost unlimited com-  
 66. mand for attacking and destroying the pirates,  
 and who, after having gloriously compleated  
 that enterprize, obtained again an enormous in-  
 crease of power from the command of the war  
 against Mithridates, which a law, passed by  
 the Tribune Manilius, gave him, besides all  
 that he already possessed. I shall speak of these  
 facts in the sequel with extent, upon which I  
 only touch at present, to compleat what relates  
 to Lucullus.

*Bad beha-  
 viour of  
 Pompey in  
 respect to  
 Lucullus.  
 Plac. in  
 Luc. &  
 Pomp.*

Nothing could be more disagreeable to that  
 General, than to have Pompey for his successor.  
 There had always subsisted between them, and  
 even in the life-time of Sylla, an emulation,  
 that came very near envy and hatred. Hitherto  
 Lucullus might have pretended to equality with  
 him; but at present Pompey triumphed, and  
 even took pleasure in improving all his advan-  
 tages for mortifying his enemy. Accord-  
 ingly causing decrees to be fixed up in all the  
 cities, he commanded the Roman troops to re-  
 pair to him, wherein he was punctually obeyed,  
 and even beyond what he had a right to expect.  
 For Fimbria's legions, who had obtained their  
 dismissal by a decree of the people, with which  
 they had forced Lucullus to comply, volunta-  
 rily joined Pompey's ensigns.

Every thing else passed in much the same  
 manner. Pompey summoned the Princes and  
 Magistrates of the Asiatic Nations, and direct-  
 ed them to have no regard to the orders of  
 Lucullus. The latter, in concert with the ten  
 Commissioners, had made some regulations,  
 decreed rewards to some, and punishment to  
 others, according to their having deserved well  
 or



or ill of the Commonwealth. Pompey cancelled all these decrees, and wherever he went suffered nothing to subsist that had been instituted by Lucullus, affecting, if possible, to render him contemptible in every thing, and to cause himself to be considered as sole arbiter in all things. A. R. 686.  
Ant. C.  
66.

Lucullus, highly offended, caused complaints to be made to Pompey by some of their common friends, and in consequence the two Generals had a meeting near a small town in Galatia. A thing happened there of little importance indeed, but which was looked on as an omen. As both of them had gained great victories, the *fascēs* of their lictors were incircled with laurel. Those of Lucullus were fresh and green, because they came from a country covered with trees: Pompey's, on the contrary, were withered, having passed through a dry region in which there was no verdure. The lictors of Lucullus in consequence, out of politeness for those of Pompey, having given them part of the fine laurel branches, which they carried, this was observed, and taken for an omen, that the trophies of Lucullus should serve to exalt Pompey's glory. *Interview  
of the two  
Generals.*

The conversation between the two Generals began by compliments. They mutually congratulated each other upon their victories; a copious subject for both; and there were other motives for their treating each other with respect. Lucullus was the senior both as to age, and in the Consulship. Pompey had on his side more different commands, and two triumphs. But when they came to speak of affairs, they soon changed tone. The conversation degenerated into the sharpest reproaches, *Their conversation  
begins  
with po-  
liteness,  
and ends  
with re-  
proaches.*  
and

A. R. 685. and such as little suited the dignity of two such  
 Ant. C. great personages. Pompey reproached Lucul-  
 65. lus with his passion for money, and the prodi-  
 gious riches he had acquired during the war.

Veil II.  
 3. Plut.

Lucullus objected to Pompey his insatiable am-  
 bition, that was for engrossing all things. An  
 Historian observes, that they both were in the  
 right. Their friends were obliged to separate  
 them, and they parted more virulent against  
 each other than ever. Lucullus was still for  
 continuing to dispence rewards and punish-  
 ments. Pompey annulled all his decrees, and  
 took from him all his troops, except sixteen  
 hundred men, the most intractable of all, and  
 whom for that reason he judged useless to him-  
 self, and disagreeable to Lucullus.

*Their dis-  
 course of  
 each other.*

Their animosity could not contain itself, but  
 broke out, whenever they spoke of each other.  
 Pompey lessened his predecessor's exploits ;  
 saying, " That he had had nothing to fight  
 " with but an empty shew, full of pomp and  
 " glare, but void of any real force ; whereas  
 " for himself, he should have good and well-  
 " armed troops to beat, whom Mithridates,  
 " become wise from his misfortunes, had  
 " taught to adorn themselves no longer with  
 " gold and silver, but to strengthen themselves  
 " with steel ; placing his confidence for the  
 " future in shields, swords, horses, and all  
 " that conduces to making a good resistance."  
 Lucullus retorted upon him not unhappily. He  
 treated what he left for Pompey to do as a meer  
 shadow, a phantom of war, and he compared  
 that general to those equally greedy and coward-  
 ly birds that prey upon bodies which others have  
 killed, tearing to pieces their leavings. *In the  
 same manner, added he, he came to put an end*  
 to

*to the wars with Lepidus, Sertorius, Spartacus, A.R. 686. and ascribed to himself the glory that belonged Ant. C. to Catulus, Metellus, and Crassus. And how<sup>66.</sup> should the trophies of Pontus and Armenia not tempt him, him who was not ashamed to assume to himself a share in a triumph over slaves?*

What honour might not these two great men have done themselves, if, instead of seeking to depreciate each other, out of a mean spirit of malignity, they had, on the contrary, industriously extolled each other's exploits. But passion blinds men, and makes them hurt themselves, through the low desire of injuring their adversaries.

Lucullus, on his return to Italy, found great obstacles to his triumph, which was put off during almost three years. I shall speak of it in it's place. We must now go back again, in order to give a great number of facts a place here, which we have been obliged to postpone. The course of these facts will bring us back to the exploits of Pompey against Mithridates.

### S E C T. III.

*Emulation of Pompey and Crassus. Riches of Crassus. Methods by which he acquires them. Popular and insinuating behaviour of Crassus. Coldness and reserve of Pompey. Motives for that conduct. The competition between Pompey and Crassus was always exempt from violence. Variable character of Crassus's conduct. His taste for letters and the sciences. They both stand for the consulship at the same time, and are elected. Instructive manual composed for Pompey by Varro. Misunderstanding between the*



*the two Consuls. Pompey passes in review as a Roman knight before the censors. He reinstates the tribunitian office in all its rights. Corruption of the judges. Hortensius had a great share in this corruption. Law for dividing the administration of justice between the senate, knights, and the tribunes of the treasury. Accusation of Verres, his crimes. Confidence of Verres in his money, and the protection of Hortensius. Laudable conduct of Cicero. Verres banishes himself, without waiting the sentence. Suspicion little probable, cast by Plutarch upon Cicero. That orator composed the five pieces of the accusation of Verres after the affair. Sixty-four senators struck out of the list by the censors, of which number were C. Antonius, P. Lentulus Sura, and Q. Curius. The closing of the Lustrum. Above nine hundred thousand citizens. The two Consuls are reconciled, and dismiss their armies. Birth of Virgil. Consecration of the capitol. Cicero's Ædileship. War declared against the Cretans. First successes of Hortensius at the bar: His memory, gesture, and application to eloquence. He flags much during his life, and his reputation comes to nothing after his death. Effeminacy and luxury of Hortensius. His affability; and friendship with Cicero. Q. Marcius sole Consul. He goes to command in Cilicia. Pompey charged with the war against the pirates. Troubles in the city. Law of Roscius concerning the Roman knights. Contests between Cornelius the tribune and Piso the consul, in respect to their laws against canvassing. Piso excludes Palicanus from the consulship. Law of Cornelius concerning exemptions granted by the senate only. Another law to oblige the Prætors to adjudge causes*  
con-

*conformably to their edicts. Violent state of the Commonwealth. Cornelius accused. Cicero defends him. Pompey charged with the war against Mithridates. Manilius's motive in causing the command of the war against Mithridates to be given to Pompey. Cicero Prætor. He condemns Lucinius Macer. He takes upon him the defence of Manilius.*

*Emulation between CRASSUS and POMPEY.*

**I** Resume the affairs of the city with the *Emulation* *of Pompey* *and Cras-*  
fulship of two very famous persons, Cras-  
sus and Pompey. They were rivals in glory, *sus.*  
or at least in power. Their emulation had be- *Plut. in*  
gan when they made war under Sylla against *Sylla, &*  
the heads of Marius's faction, and the prefe- *Crasso, &*  
rence which Sylla had publicly given Pom- *Pomp.*  
pey, though much the younger, had piqued  
Crassus exceedingly. That preference was how-  
ever just; and founded as well upon the supe-  
riority of military merit, that distinguished it-  
self in a shining manner in Pompey, as upon  
the ruling vice of Crassus, I mean his insatiable  
avidity of riches, which rendered him odious  
and contemptible. After all, it must be owned,  
that Crassus was not without talents for war.  
We have seen him signalize himself under Sylla  
on more than one occasion; and the manner,  
in which he terminated the war with Spartacus,  
so unhappily and ignominiously conducted be-  
fore, should undoubtedly reflect honour upon  
him. On the other side, it is no less certain,  
that he would have been entirely eclipsed by  
the glorious victories of Pompey, and would  
always have continued much below him, if he  
had not retained a kind of equality by his im-  
mense

menſe riches, and alſo by a popular affability, an inſinuating behaviour, which occaſioned his being always ready, when any one wanted his credit or ſervices. Plutarch gives us ſome particulars in reſpect to theſe two heads, which ſeem material to me, and which will make us acquainted both with the genius of Crassus, and the methods by which, without having any eminent quality, he acquired ſuch great power in Rome.

*Riches of  
Crassus.*

Every body has heard of the riches of Crassus. But Plutarch gives us a juſt and exact idea of them, and informs us, that after having conſecrated the tenth part of his eſtate to Hercules, given the whole Roman people a feaſt, and diſtributed corn for three months to all the citizens, being deſirous to take an eſtimate of his fortune, when he ſet out to make war with the Parthians, he found himſelf poſſeſſed of ſeven thouſand one hundred talents, that is, about one million and ſixty-five thouſand pounds Sterling.

*Methods by  
which he  
acquired  
them.*

He was far from having received all this great eſtate from his anceſtors. His patrimony originally amounted only to three hundred thouſand crowns. But extreme avidity, with an habitual œconomy, conſtantly and regularly purſued, enabled him to acquire theſe prodigious riches. Every method ſeemed good to him. He not only fattened from the public miſeries, by the conſiſcations of the eſtates of the proſcribed, but he was accuſed before Sylla of having converted to his own uſe the greateſt part of the ſpoils of Tudertum, a town of Umbria which he had taken by aſſault; and on another occaſion, of having proſcribed a rich Bruttian by his private authority only, for the ſake



fake of seizing his estate. These two instances of a base and cruel avarice, gave Sylla a disgust for Crassus, and determined him to employ him no more. This kind of disgrace did not cure him: and, if we believe Cicero, who describes him without naming him in his sixth *Paradox*, there is no kind of injustice, nor odious method, that he did not employ during his whole life, for continually augmenting his possessions.

He had made the art of enriching himself his study, and was a very great proficient in it. Accordingly, having observed that the houses of Rome were liable to be frequently destroyed by fire and earthquakes, he purchased more than five hundred slaves, who were architects and masons; and when an house was either burnt down, or fell in ruins, he bought it cheap, with others adjacent that were damaged, and then made his slaves rebuild them; so that by degrees he became proprietor of the greatest part of the houses in Rome. But though he had amongst his slaves so great a number of workmen in the building way, he never built any thing for himself, except his own house; and he used to say, that those who loved to build, ruined themselves, and spared their enemies that trouble.

Besides houses, he had estates of every kind, silver mines, and lands well improved. But his principal riches consisted in his slaves. The number he had of them for every kind of employment is incredible; readers, secretaries, bailiffs, overseers, bankers, stewards; and he took very great care to have each of them instructed in their business; overlooking them himself, and observing their progress with attention. He thought in general, that nothing required the master's eye more than his slaves, whom he

considered as the living instruments of œconomy ; and he used to say, that a master ought to govern his other possessions by his slaves, and his slaves by himself. He undoubtedly made them exercise the different trades he had taught them, and took the profits ; for otherwise that multitude of slaves would have been rather a charge to him, than capable of enriching him.

*Parad.*  
VI.

In the midst of all these enormous riches, Cicero reproaches him with not being rich ; and to prove it, instances his phrenzy for accumulating, and his avidity, that incessantly augmented with his revenues. Crassus agreed with Cicero upon this head, as he used to say, *that a man was not rich, unless he could raise and maintain an army at his own expence.* A foolish saying, and very different, as Plutarch observes, from Marius's manner of thinking. For the latter having distributed to some of his soldiers fourteen acres of land a man, and understanding that they demanded more ; he reprov'd them in these remarkable terms ; *May the gods forbid, that there should be one Roman, who should think a portion of land, sufficient to maintain him, not enough.*

*Popular  
and oblig-  
ing man-  
ner of  
Crassus.*

It is easy to conceive, that these enormous riches must give Crassus great credit. What still contributed more to it, were his popular behaviour, as I have said, and his inclination to oblige. He lent his friends money without interest ; which was thought great generosity with the Romans, intent as they were, even those of them who passed for the most worthy, upon improving their estates. He indeed required indispensibly, that the money he lent should be repaid exactly when it became due, and his rigour in this respect was so great, that  
people

people sometimes chose rather to apply to usurers.

His house was open to all the world, and his table filled with a great number of persons. It was not covered with exquisite dishes ; but was however neatly and handsomely served ; and the kind and affable behaviour of the master, and the gaiety and freedom that reigned at it, made the entertainment preferable to the most luxurious services.

He carried this spirit of affability with him in all his actions. He never met a citizen, however poor and obscure, but he returned his salute, calling him by his name, which was politeness, according to the custom of the Romans.

He had exercised himself much in eloquence, which, as all the world knows, was so necessary at Rome : and though he had no great natural talents that way, by labour and application he attained to surpassing men, to whom nature had been more indulgent. For, how light soever the causes were, he never pleaded any, without having carefully prepared for it. But he recommended himself most to favour by his facility in receiving all that were presented to him. Pompey, Cæsar, and even Cicero, refused causes. But Crassus took all upon himself ; and thereby acquired the reputation of a friend to the people, and a beneficent person.

It was principally in this point, that he had *Coldness* a great advantage over Pompey, who observed *and reserve of* a quite different conduct. Pompey, when in the *Pompey.* city, appeared little in public, was not easy *Reasons* of access, seldom went to the Forum, and al- *for that* ways with a great train, sustaining his rank, *conduct.* and carefully shunning importunity. He accepted few causes, and when he was prevailed upon to



plead for any one, it was evident, that he did so with a kind of repugnance. In general, he scarce ever interested himself in the affairs of others; reserving his credit for himself, and not caring to use it for any body else. This reserve had an air of dignity, but was little adapted to making himself creatures among the multitude. It was leaving the field open, to such as proposed to themselves the forming a great interest within the city amongst the people. Pompey knew it, and, through a refinement of policy, was not sorry that things stood so, in order to sustain with the greater ease all his lustre and superiority in respect to war. For (a) the life of a simple citizen is very pernicious to the reputation of a general, who has acquired glory in arms, and who, to use the expression of Plutarch, cannot admit being levelled with popular equality. Most are for taking the lead in the city, as in the camp. Now it is insupportable to those, who see themselves inferior in the military state, not to have their revenge at least in time of peace. In consequence, when they meet with one in their way in transacting civil affairs, who has rendered himself illustrious at the head of armies, they are sure to take him down, and to trample him under their feet. But if he is so prudent as not to enter the lists with them, he spares his military glory the at-

(a) Ὁ γὰρ ἐν ἰουδαίῳ βίβῃ  
ἐπιστάτης ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀδελφὸν  
τοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἰουδαίας μεγάλῃς,  
καὶ πρὸς ἰσχυρὰ δημοτικὴν  
ἀντιμαχίαν, αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ  
καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκεί  
δικαίους τοῖς ὅς ἐκείνους  
ἐλαττοῖς ἐλάττω, ἐπαίθου γὰρ  
μὴ πλεονέχειν αὐτὸν ἀνεκτόν

ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἐν στρατοπέδοις  
καὶ θριαμβοῖς λαμπρόν, ὅταν  
ἐν ἀγορᾷ λάβωσιν, ὅτι χεῖρα  
ποιῶνται καὶ καταβάλλουσιν.  
τῷ δὲ ἀπολεβρωθῇ καὶ ὑπο-  
χωρεῖν τὴν ἐκεῖ τιμὴν καὶ  
δυναμὴν ἀνεπίστου οὐ φυλάτ-  
τουν. *Plut. Pomp.*

tacks of envy ; and preserves with more ease his superiority in the view, that is dearest to him, by consenting to be inferior in the other.

And thus Pompey reasoned and acted. Crassus in following a quite different plan, by always shewing himself ready to do services, accessible, affable to all, and disposed to take upon him the interest of any one who had recourse to his protection, conciliated a very great number of friends and adherents ; so that, through an effect remarkably singular, Pompey when absent had the advantage of Crassus ; and was himself the inferior, when they were both in the sight of their fellow-citizens.

This competition, which had commenced early, and continued during their whole lives, did not however produce a violent and irreconcilable enmity. Both were extremely ambitious ; and persons of that character do not regulate their conduct by their sentiments, but by their interest. Crassus was mortified by the towering flight, which he had seen Pompey take above him : and one day, when somebody said to him, *Here comes Pompey the Great*, he asked, laughing, how many feet high he was ? In consequence they had many differences and quarrels with each other ; but they never proceeded to any excess, and always were reconciled.

Crassus observed the same conduct in respect to Cæsar, as I shall have occasion to observe elsewhere. And in general, he was always fluctuating, and in a manner neutral between all parties ; often changing system in the public affairs, he acted neither as a constant friend, nor an implacable enemy. Whenever he had the useful in view, friendship and enmity lost all power with him : so that it frequently happened,

*The competition between Pompey and Crassus was always exempt from violence.*

*Fluctuating character of Crassus's conduct.*

and that in a short space of time, that he both attacked, and defended, the same laws and the same persons. A character far from being estimable, and no less remote, than great vices from true virtue, which is necessarily attended with constancy and perseverance, because founded upon immutable principles.

I conceived, that these circumstances, taken from Plutarch, which perfectly make known Crassus, and the methods by which he made himself Pompey's equal, would please the reader, and will be of use to him in pursuing with more gusto and improvement, what I shall have to relate of the intrigues and other conduct of them both.

*His taste  
for letters  
and the  
J. i. c. c.*

I must not omit, that they were both lovers of learning and of the sciences. Crassus in particular passed for being well read in history, and applied himself to the study of Aristotle's philosophy. His master in philosophy was called Alexander, whose attachment to Crassus, says Plutarch, is a good proof of his easiness and good-nature. For it is hard to decide, whether he was poorer, when he first entered that rich man's house, or became more so whilst he stayed there. Of all the friends of Crassus, when he travelled with him, he alone received a cloak, which on his return was asked of him again. It is hard to say, at which we should wonder most; the sordid temper of the master, or the humility of the philosopher.

*They both  
stand to-  
gether for  
the Con-  
sulship,  
and are  
elected*

When Crassus and Pompey were preparing to stand for the Consulship, the one had lately determined the war with Sertorius, and the other that of Sparticus. Each had in consequence an army, and many in Rome were afraid that Pompey would keep his on foot, and with the forces



forces he had under his command, make himself master of the commonwealth, after the example of Sylla. But however that might be, Crassus took care to keep him in awe; declaring, that he would not disband his troops, 'till Pompey also dismissed his army. This quarrel, which supplied matter for much discourse, and great apprehensions, was suddenly made up by Pompey's promising to discharge his soldiers as soon as his triumph was over.

The affair of the Consulship was still in agitation. Pompey was but thirty four years old, and to be elected Consul it was necessary, that he should be forty three. He had not exercised any great office yet, and the laws required that none should be raised to the Consulship, without passing through the several degrees of the inferior dignities. But his glory was so great, and the admiration for him so universal, that he was dispensed with from the observation of any of the laws. Crassus did not venture to set up for a candidate without having his consent, and he caused him to be sounded upon that head. Pompey, charmed with such an application from Crassus, and having long desired an opportunity of serving him, seized this occasion, and went so far as to declare in an assembly of the people, that he should be no less obliged to his fellow-citizens for giving him Crassus for colleague, than for electing himself. Accordingly, both were elected unanimously, and in the most honourable form. After they had both triumphed, as I have related elsewhere, they entered upon office.

A R 632.  
Ann. C.  
70.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS.

*Manual of  
introduction  
to the com-  
position of  
Pompey's  
A. G. 1.  
XIV. 7.*

As Pompey, who had hitherto had no rank in the city but that of Roman knight, had consequently never entered the senate, he had but an imperfect knowledge of the customs of that august body, and was not versed in the rights and duties of the Consuls, when he was to preside in the senate, and draw up it's decrees. He had recourse to the learned Varro, and he drew him up a manual, to serve as a direction; and, as he called it himself, an introduction (a) to entirely new functions for a person who was only a senator, in virtue of being Consul.

*Misunder-  
standings  
between  
the Con-  
suls.  
Plot in  
Crass. &  
Pomp.*

Misunderstandings soon began to revive between Pompey and Crassus, and continued as long as their magistracy, and accordingly they acted nothing memorable. Crassus at this time consecrated that tenth of his estate to Hercules, and gave the people the largesses, I have mentioned. Pompey, who was vain, had an occasion of satisfying that disposition, on the day that the knights, according to custom, passed in review before the censors.

*Pompey  
presents in  
review to  
the censors  
as a Roman  
knight.*

By ancient institution, the Roman knights, when they had compleated their time of service, which was ten years, presented themselves to the censors, gave them an account of the campaigns they had served, and under what generals, with their behaviour: after which, such marks of honour or ignominy were distributed amongst them, as their conduct

(a) *Commentarius, lib. 1. c. 1.*

had

had deserved. Accordingly, at this time, the A. R. 682.  
 censors L. Gellius and Cn. Lentulus, being Ant. C.  
 seated in their curule chairs at the gate of the 70.  
 temple of Castor, Pompey appeared, entering  
 the Forum with all the pomp of the consulship,  
 but leading his horse himself by the bridle.  
 When he came in sight of the censors, he made  
 his lictors, who walked before him, stand aside,  
 and led on his horse to them. The whole peo-  
 ple stood silent, and in admiration; and so sin-  
 gular a sight inspired those magistrates them-  
 selves with sentiments of joy and respect. The  
 eldest censor asked him this question: *Pompey,*  
*I ask you, whether you have compleated all the*  
*years of service, which you owe the common-*  
*wealth?* Yes, answered he, raising his voice, *I*  
*have compleated them all, and under no other ge-*  
*neral but myself.* On these words, the people  
 could not contain their joy, and the whole  
 Forum resounded with cries of applause. The  
 censors rose, and reconducted Pompey to his  
 house; well knowing that they should thereby  
 highly please the people, who accompanied  
 them with transports of delight, incessantly clap-  
 ping their hands all the way.

Pompey, who had always been beloved by *Pompey re-*  
 them, had extremely augmented that popular *inflates*  
 disposition by the re-establishment of the Tri- *the Tribu-*  
 buneship, as I have said before. For it was *nitian*  
 properly a work of his, and though Crassus *power in*  
 concurred in it, probably not being able to pre- *all it's*  
 vent it, both Plutarch and Cicero ascribe it to *rights.*  
 Pompey. Vol. X.  
 Sect. 2.

The nobility could not but take great offence  
 at Pompey, for having contributed to rein-  
 state so invidious a power to them; and after  
 this, it is no wonder that whilst he was adored  
 by



A.R. 682. by the people, Crassus was in much greater fa-  
 Ant. C. vour in the senate. Pompey gave himself also  
 70. another loose, to the prejudice of the senate, in  
 respect to an article of great importance; and  
 suffered the administration of justice, which Sylla  
 had restored to the senators only, to be in a great  
 measure taken from them.

*Corruption  
 of judg-  
 ments.*

*Cic. Act. I.  
 in Verr. n.  
 § 8. & ibi  
 Acton.*

And indeed the corruption of judgments was  
 become so excessive, that there was no longer  
 any justice to be had in Rome. This was a  
 most atrocious practice: The judges publicly  
 sold their voices; and (a) it was grown into a  
 maxim, that a rich man, however criminal,  
 could not be condemned. The abuse rose so  
 high, that Q. Calidius, who had governed  
 Spain with the authority of Prætor, having  
 been accused at his return, and condemned, re-  
 proached his judges, not immediately for ha-  
 ving passed sentence upon him, but for having  
 done it at too low a price (b). *You ought*, said  
 he to them, *to have had better pay for ruining a*  
*man, that has been honoured with the office of*  
*Prætor. You have sold me for a morsel of bread.*  
 Cicero relates a fact of this kind in his oration  
 for Cluentius, which is perhaps unexampled. I  
 shall abridge his account of it as much as pos-  
 sible.

Oppianicus, of whom I have spoken in the  
 occasion of Sylla's proscription, a man guilty  
 of all manner of crimes, a poisoner of his wives,  
 and relations, a corrupter of youth, a forger of

(a) Inveteravit jam opi-  
 nio — his judiciis quæ nunc  
 sunt, pecuniosum hominem,  
 quamvis sit nocens, nemi-  
 nem posse damnari. *Cic. Act.*  
*I. in Verr. n. 1.*

(b) Vel idoneam merce-  
 dem pro meo capite pacisci  
 debuitis. Hoc saltem ho-  
 nestatis esset in vobis, ut  
 hominem prætorium non vili  
 pretio venderetis.

wills;

wills; and lastly, one capable of violating all A.R. 682  
 laws human and divine for the sake of any ad- Ant. C.  
 vantage, had attempted to poison his son-in- 70.  
 law Cluentius. The thing was discovered; and  
 Cluentius prosecuted him juridically. This he  
 did with great address. Before he accused Op-  
 pianicus, he proceeded against a freedman, in  
 whose hands the poison had been surprized be-  
 fore witnesses. This freedman, whose name  
 was Scamander, was condemned. Cluentius  
 afterwards accused Scamander's patron, who had  
 been the agent in this criminal affair, and caused  
 him also to be condemned. He then attacked  
 Oppianicus, who was thus condemned before-  
 hand by the sentences passed against his two ac-  
 complices. Oppianicus, in so great a danger, Cic. pro  
 applied to Stalenus, one of his judges, and, with Clu. 66—  
 about three thousand two hundred pounds, 76.  
 which he caused to be carried to his house, en-  
 gaged him, to buy him sixteen voices, which  
 were sufficient for acquitting him; for the tri-  
 bunal consisted of two and thirty judges. Sta-  
 lenus, who was as wicked as him with whom he  
 negociated, seeing that sum in his hands, con-  
 ceived designs for appropriating it to his own  
 use; and being assured, that if Oppianicus was  
 condemned, no body would claim the return of  
 it, he took pains to make the condemnation of  
 the man certain, from whom he had taken  
 money to procure his being acquitted. In order  
 to that, he promised about two hundred pounds  
 to such of the judges, as were no honeste than  
 himself; and, after some days, when the time  
 grew short, he told them, that Oppianicus had  
 not kept his word with him, and had not paid  
 him the money. In consequence, the honest part  
 of the bench having given their voices against  
 the

A.R. 682. the accused, because he was criminal, and the  
 Ant C. others, because they thought he had deceived  
 70. them, Oppianicus was condemned. The sequel  
 of this affair, which was important, does not  
 relate to our subject. What we have to add,  
 is, that so great a fact became more so, if it

Cic. Añ I. were true, as it might well be, and as Cicero  
 in Verr. himself had said in a former pleading, that  
 n. 39. Stalenus, after he had taken the accused's money,  
 had also received sums from the accuser.

*Hortensius* Hortensius had a great share in this univer-  
*had a* sal corruption of justice. He had a kind of  
*great share* absolute dominion over trials; and did not  
*in this cor* confine himself to using his talents and eloquence  
*ruption.* in favour of the accused, whom he defended.  
 There was no kind of method that he did not  
 employ; solicitations, careffes, menaces, and  
 money. As he with reason distrusted those  
 wretched judges. who sold their suffrages, he  
 took the most singular precautions for making  
 sure of them. In those days the method of  
 passing sentence was by ballot. To each of  
 the judges three little pieces of wood covered  
 with wax were distributed, on the one of which  
 was the letter A, the mark of Acquittal (*Ab-*  
*solve*); on another a C, which signified (*Con-*  
*demno*) Condemnation; and on the third N. L.  
 the initials of *Non liquet*, the affair is not clear,  
 it must be tried again. The judges put that of  
 the three balloting pieces, which they thought  
 proper, into an urn or box. Hortensius in con-  
 sequence, to be assured that such of them as  
 had taken money from his clients, had kept  
 their words, had not only one amongst them,  
 in whom he could confide, to overlook, and  
 be a spy upon them; but when he had an affair  
 much at heart, he went so far as to have bal-  
 lotting

Cic. Divin.  
 n. 24. &  
 Añ. I. in  
 Verr. n.  
 40. &  
 utrobique  
 Añon.



lotting pieces of different colours given to the A.R. 682.  
judges, that when they were taken out of the Ant. C.  
urn, he might see with his own eyes, whether 70.  
the judges, who had promised him to acquit  
the accused, had been faithful to their engage-  
ment.

Such great disorders could not be tolerated ; *Law for*  
and Pompey, in the speech which he had made *dividing*  
to the people before his consulship, in pro- *the admi-*  
mising to reinstate the power of the tribunes, *nistration*  
had also engaged to reform the abuses which *of justice,*  
were committed in the administration of justice. *between*  
It may therefore be reasonably conjectured, that *the sena-*  
it was in concert with him, L. Aurelius Cotta, *tors.*  
then prætor, proposed a law, by which it was *knights,*  
decreed, that for the future the judges should *and tri-*  
be chosen, not out of the body of the senators *bunes of*  
only, but out of the three orders of the com- *the trea-*  
monwealth, the senate, the Roman knights, *sury.*  
and the tribunes of the public treasury, which *Cic. A&I.*  
last were of the order of the people. All that *in Verr.*  
we know of the functions of these tribunes, is, *n. 42.*  
that they took out of the treasury the money *Ascon. in*  
which was to be distributed amongst the troops, *Divin.*  
and remitted it to the quæstors. The law  
passed and was observed, with some alterations  
of little importance, 'till Cæsar's dictatorship ;  
but it did but imperfectly remedy the evil. It  
was not only the order of the senate, that was  
infected with corruption, as has been already  
observed elsewhere upon a like occasion, it was  
the whole commonwealth. We shall see by  
very glaring instances, how little efficacious this  
remedy was.

It is obvious, that this law must have in-  
duced a considerable reduction of the power of  
the Great. But it augmented Pompey's credit  
with

A R 632. with the people, without totally embroiling  
 Ant. C. him however with the senate, because it kept  
 70. up a kind of ballance with the two orders;  
 and though it increased the rights of the one,  
 it did not entirely divest the other, as the law  
 of C. Gracchus had done. It was Pompey's  
 policy to make himself popular; but not to  
 abandon himself in such a manner to the peo-  
 ple, as to make the senate consider him as an  
 enemy.

*Accusation*      Whilst the passing of this law was in agita-  
*of Verres* tion, and before it was entirely concluded, Ci-  
 cero accused Verres. This affair, though it  
 may appear to concern only a private person,  
 is of extreme importance, and we hope the  
 reader will approve our giving an idea of it in  
 this place with some extent. The great repu-  
 tation of the two advocates, Cicero the accu-  
 ser and Hortensius the defender; the horrible  
 oppression of the people of Sicily, which will  
 shew how far the Roman magistrates frequent-  
 ly carried their tyranny in respect to the sub-  
 jects of the commonwealth; and lastly, the  
 manner of proceeding in this kind of trials  
 amongst the Romans; all this seems to me mat-  
 ter of curiosity. I shall however endeavour not  
 to be too long.

*His crimes.*      I have already spoken of Verres, and related  
 some of his crimes, when he was Carbo's  
 quaestor, and afterwards Dolabella's lieutenant  
 in Cilicia. He was prætor in the consulship of  
 Lucullus, and the lots gave him the finest pro-  
 vince, that which the Romans called the præ-  
 torship of the city. That office, which placed  
 him at the head of the administration of justice  
 in Rome, only served this corrupt man as an  
 occasion of committing all kinds of oppressions  
 with

with impunity. To image his conduct in one A.R. 682.  
word, it suffices to say, that a (*a*) courtezan, <sup>Ant. C.</sup>  
called Chelido, absolutely governed the prætor, <sup>70.</sup>  
and by him all the tribunals of the city : and  
“ That, says Cicero, in so public a manner,  
“ that not a countryman came to Rome that  
“ year upon any suit whatsoever who was not  
“ informed of it.”

After the year of his prætorship was elapsed, not in dispensing justice, but in abusing the power of the magistracy for suppressing all right, the government of Sicily, for the misfortune of that province, fell to him ; and it even happened in effect of particular circumstances, that his administration, which was to have been only of one year, continued three. It is proper to recollect in this place what has been observed elsewhere ; that the Roman magistrates exercised all power civil and military. A prætor was a kind of king in his province. The finances, judicature, war, and troops, both of land and sea, were all in his hands. Verres used this unlimited authority for grinding the Sicilians all manner of ways. He trampled all their laws and privileges under his feet, and his caprice was the sole rule that guided him in the dispensation of justice. That island, as every body knows, is very fertile, and supplied the city of Rome with great part of the grain necessary to it's subsistence. There was no kind of extortion that he did not inflict upon the unhappy farmers, whom he ought to

(*a*) Nemo tam rusticanus omnia populi Romani nutu  
momo, L. Lucullo M. Cotta  
ta consulibus, Romam ex  
ullo municipio vadimonii  
causâ venit, quin sciret jura

atque arbitrio Chelidonis me-  
reticulæ gubernari. *Cic. in*  
*Verr. V. 34.*

have



- A.R. 682. have protected and encouraged. His passion  
 Ant. C. for statues, paintings, and the other curious  
 70. works of art, rose to madness: Of them he  
 stripped the cities, temples, and private houses.  
 To these excesses add cowardice and negligence  
 in respect to war and pirates, inconceivable  
 luxury and effeminacy, infamous debauchery,  
 by which he dishonoured the best families in  
 Sicily; and lastly, more than tyrannical cruelty.
- Id. ibid. In a word, he was a more horrid monster to  
 245, 246. that unhappy island, than fable could have  
 imagined; than the Cyclops, Charybdes, Scyl-  
 las; and gave reason to regret the Dionysii and  
 the Phalariffes.

This picture of him, copied from Cicero, is not exaggerated; matters of fact prove the likeness. Out of the multitude of those in the five books of the *Accusation of Verres*, I shall choose only two, and shall take care to abridge them.

The first relates to Sthenius, that excellent citizen of Himera, whose admirable generosity had distinguished him so much, when Pompey was sent by Sylla into Sicily to crush the remains of Marius's faction. This Sthenius, who was rich, and curious in vessels of Corinthian brass, and in fine plate, having received and lodged the prætor in his house, the first return Verres made for being treated with the most noble hospitality, was to take away all that valuable furniture. The Sicilian bore it without murmuring. It was the prætor who robbed him, and he had nothing but silence to oppose to his injustice: it was a guest, and he even thought

(a) Prætoris injurias tacitè, hospitis placidè ferendâs ar-  
 bitrio suo, num 84.

moderation and complacency incumbent upon him. A.R. 682.  
Ant.C:70.

Sthenius's patience emboldened Verres, and he proposed to him to assist him in obtaining from the Himerians, all the fine statues they had in their city. Every body knows how great a value the Greeks set upon this kind of works, in which their nation excelled. Besides which, amongst these statues were some, that were peculiarly dear to the Himerians, from the objects they represented. Of this kind was that of the city itself of Himera under the form of a woman, and that of Stesichorus, the great lyric poet, their countryman. And lastly, they were monuments of Scipio's favour to them, who had restored them to their city after having taken Carthage, and of their alliance. Accordingly Sthenius, always generous, when the good and glory of his country were in question, answered the prætor in plain terms, that what he asked was impossible, and that far from assisting, he should oppose him with all his power. Cic. in Verr. II. 23—27.

Verres however did not desist, and caused the thing to be proposed to the senate of Himera. Sthenius kept his word with him, and as he was eloquent spoke with great force, maintaining, “ That it were (a) better for the Himerians in a body to abandon their city, than to suffer themselves to be deprived of the monuments of their ancestors, the spoils

(a) Urbem relinquere Thermitanos \* esse honestius, quàm pati tolli ex urbe monumenta majorum, spolia hostium, beneficia clarissimi viri, indicia societatis populi Romani atque amicitiae. n. 88.

\* Thermæ had been built in the place of the ancient city of Himera. The new city was called Thermæ Himerenics, and the inhabitants Thermitani.

A.R. 681. “ reconquered from their ancient enemies, the  
Ant C. 70 “ gifts of the greatest man, that ever was, and  
“ the evidences of their alliance and amity with  
“ the Roman people.” All persons were so much affected with these vehement representations, that there was not one, who did not declare, he would rather choose death, than consent to such an indignity.

Verres, incensed to find an opposition, that no other city of Sicily had dared to make against him, broke the hospitality with Sthenius, quitted his house, and went to lodge in the house of one of his enemies. He engaged the chief of this house, who was one of the principal citizens of Himera, to accuse Sthenius of having falsified the public registers. This affair was of a nature to be tried by the Himerians themselves ; and Sthenius offered to make his defence before his natural judges. But Verres called up the cause before himself, and made himself arbiter of it contrary to all justice. At the same time Sthenius was informed, that the prætor intended to cause him to be cruelly whipt with rods. In this extremity he thought proper to fly ; and though the season was already bad for navigation, he passed the sea and went to Rome. Verres was exceedingly mortified, that his victim had escaped him. He sent some of his officers both into the city and country to seek Sthenius, and bring him to him wherever they found him. At length, being assured of his flight, he condemned him without farther discussion, or any enquiry, to pay a fine of about two thousand five hundred pounds, for which he would have sold his whole fortune, if the money had not been immediately laid down.

This



This was not all: he declared from his tribunal, that though Sthenius was absent, if any one would prosecute him as guilty of some capital crime, he would accept the accusation and pass sentence. The person, who had set himself up as accuser in the first affair, had so much moderation as to say, he did not desire his enemy's blood. An obscure fellow, whose misery made him capable of any thing, presented himself to serve the prætor's vile purpose, and Sthenius was cited to appear before Verres on the first of December.

In the mean time Sthenius, who had abundance of friends in Rome, caused his complaint to be laid before the senate, against so iniquitous a proceeding; and on the motion of the consuls a decree was going to be passed, that no criminal prosecution should be admitted to be laid in the provinces against absent persons; and that whatever should have been done contrary to the present decree of the senate should be void and null. But Verres's father made so much stir, and caused so many objections to be raised, that night came on before the decree could be drawn up. He afterwards pacified Sthenius's friends, by promising them, that the affair should go no farther. He wrote in strong terms to his son, to represent to him, that he was upon the point of ruining himself: but neither his father's request, nor consideration of his own danger, could make Verres desist. On the day fixed, he caused Sthenius to be summoned before him. The accuser did not appear, and on that account the accused ought to have been discharged. Verres then acted the part both of accuser and judge, and passed sentence upon Sthenius without any prosecution.

A. R. 682. After having fully satisfied his revenge, he  
 Ant. C 70. however made some reflexions : he apprehended  
 the consequences of this affair, and to prevent  
 them, he committed a new crime, by falsifying  
 his own registers. It had been entered at first  
 in them, as was true, that Sthenius had been  
 accused in his absence. Verres caused it to be  
 altered, that he was present ; and that it might  
 not be imputed to him, that he had condemned  
 a man, for whom no defence had been made,  
 he gave him in the same entry an agent, who  
 was a wretch suborned by Verres, and a personal  
 enemy of Sthenius. What a complication have  
 we here of crimes, villanies, and execrable ty-  
 ranny ! the fact I am going to add, is still  
 more atrocious.

Cic. in

Verr. II.

60—121

As the coasts of Sicily were infested with pi-  
 rates, it was necessary to fit out a fleet to scour  
 the seas of them. Verres began by violating  
 all the maxims of the Roman Government, by  
 which the supreme command was absolutely re-  
 served to the Romans only ; and made a Syra-  
 cusan, called Cleomenes, general, whose wife  
 he kept. Besides which, this equipment sup-  
 plied him with an occasion of robbing in the  
 basest manner, and the most repugnant to the  
 good of the service. The ships of this fleet  
 were supplied by the cities of Sicily, that fitted  
 them out, and manned them with soldiers and  
 mariners, whom they paid and subsisted. All  
 this money was generally laid out by the cap-  
 tains of the vessels, who were themselves inha-  
 bitants of the cities, to which each ship belonged.  
 Verres made himself master of all these sums,  
 and determined, that they should pass through  
 his hands. It is easy to conceive, that it was  
 not with design they should ever be drawn out  
 of

of them, at least the greatest part. Every soldier and seaman had his discharge on paying a certain and known price. By these discharges the prætor gained doubly ; by the money given by the soldier or seaman for being dismissed, and by that which he received from his city for his pay and subsistence. To this add, that he made no provision of any thing, filled no magazines, nor shipped any quantities of corn ; so that some Sicilians, some country fellows, who were left on board, were reduced to live upon the roots of wild palm-trees, which they tore up when they could find any.

A fleet in so blessed a condition, composed of ships almost unmanned, and in which those who remained were starving, was not likely to excite fear. Accordingly having met the pirates at sea, though they were seven ships to four brigantines, they did not engage. Cleomenes was the first that fled, the rest followed him, and when they were near land, happy was he who could save himself with most precipitation. The pirates, who had pursued them, burnt the ships ; and not contented with the victory they had gained, resolved to go and declare it themselves at Syracuse. Accordingly they rowed towards that capital of the island, where the prætor then actually was ; they entered the port, that is the very heart of the city, for the port was surrounded with buildings on all sides : they moved on gently in it, throwing upon the quays the roots of the wild palm-trees, which they had found in the Sicilian ships, and almost dashing (a) the water with their oars into the face of the cowardly abject prætor.

(a) Quum prætoris nequissimi inertissimique oculos præ-

donum remi respergerent.  
Cic. L. V. in Verr. num. 100.



A.R. 632.     So infamous a thing attended with such danger, was very near exciting a sedition in Syracuse. At least murmurs were heard on all sides against Verres: and the captains of the ships, who had retired into that city, made no mystery to any body of the true causes of that disaster, and laid the whole fault to the prætor's charge. He was informed of all these discourses, and as he expected to be accused, as soon as he returned to Rome, and did not doubt but this would be one of the principal heads against him, he thought it proper to use precaution. He sent for the captains, and complained to them of the manner, in which they spoke of him: he desired them to change their language, and to say, that each of them had his full complement of soldiers and seamen on board. They agreed to every thing: and Verres immediately interrogated them in the presence of witnesses, and caused a report to be drawn up of their answers, which were exactly what he had dictated. But, whether of himself, or from the intimation of others, he soon understood, that a falsified act, which bore the visible marks of being suggested, could not be of any utility to him.

I have already said elsewhere, that the base and cowardly are cruel. Verres resolved at any rate to stifle whatever might be used as a proof of his male-administration, and determined to put those captains to death, as traitors, guilty of having given up the fleet to the pirates. A single difficulty suspended him some time. This was, his not knowing how to treat Cleomènes, who having been general, and the first that fled, was in a more exceptible situation than any of them. But how to cause the head of the companion of his debauches, of an husband that  
 had

had been so criminal in his complaisance for him, to be cut off, was the matter! Verres was so lost to all sense of shame, that the general was left out of the question, whilst the captains were prosecuted: and at the same time, that those unfortunate persons were seized, and laden with chains by his order in the publick forum, Cleomenes was at his side, talking and whispering familiarly with him according to custom.

The fathers and mothers of the accused, being informed of the danger of their children, came in haste to Syracuse. But neither the great age and prayers of the one, nor the youth and innocence of the others, could move that obdurate wretch. Verres, with some assessors, as great villains as himself, condemned the captains to be beheaded. Cicero's conclusion of this account is something so moving and pathetic, that I cannot help transcribing the passage here. The reader will find in it an incredible mixture of cruelty and avarice.

“ These (a) condemned innocents are shut  
“ up in prison: preparations are made for their

I 4

“ exe-

(a) Includuntur in carcerem condemnati: supplicium constituitur in illos, sumitur de miseris parentibus navarchorum: prohibentur adire ad filios suos; prohibentur liberis suis cibum vestitemque ferre. Patres jacebant in limine, matresque miseræ pernoctabant ad ostium carceris, ab extremo conspectu liberum exclusæ; quæ nihil aliud orabant, nisi ut filiorum extremum spiritum ore excipere sibi liceret. Aderat ja-

nitor carceris, carnifex prætoris, mors terrorque sociorum & civium licitor Sestius, cui ex omni gemitu doloreque certa merces comparabatur. *Ut adeas, tantum dabis: ut cibum tibi introferre liceat, tantum.* Nemo recusabat. *Quid, ut uno ictu securis asferam mortem filio tuo, quid dabis? ne diu cruciatur; ne sæpius feriatur; ne cum sensu doloris aliquo, aut cruciatu, spiritus auferatur.* Etiam ob hanc causam pecunia licitori daba-

A. R. 682. “ execution, and their sorrowful parents tor-  
 Ant. C. 70 “ mented beforehand, by being deprived of  
 “ the consolation of seeing their sons, and car-  
 “ rying them food and other necessaries. The  
 “ fathers and mothers of these unfortunates lay  
 “ at the door of the prison, and passed whole  
 “ nights there, without being allowed to em-  
 “ brace their children, or even to hope, that  
 “ they should receive their last breath. At  
 “ the gate stood the goaler, the prætor’s exe-  
 “ cutioner, the dread, the destroyer of allies  
 “ and citizens; in a word, the lictor Sestius,  
 “ who exacted a tax for all the tears he caused  
 “ to be shed. *You must give so much to go in,*  
 “ *and so much for permission to bring victuals.*  
 “ Nobody refused to submit to all he pleased  
 “ to demand. *But what will you give me for*  
 “ *killing your son at one stroke, that he may not*  
 “ *suffer long, that he may not be struck several*  
 “ *times, but lose his life without any sense of pain.*  
 “ That wretch was again paid for this de-  
 “ plorable service. O inconceivable grief; O  
 “ most cruel situation in nature! fathers were  
 “ compell’d to give money, not for saving  
 “ their sons lives, but for hastening their deaths.

dabatur. O magnum atque  
 intolerandum dolorem! O  
 gravem acerbamque fortu-  
 nam! non vitam liberam, sed  
 mortis celeritatem pretio redi-  
 mare cogebantur parentes.  
 Atque ipsi etiam adolescentes  
 cum Sestio de eadem plaga,  
 & de uno illo ictu loqueban-  
 tur: idque postremum pa-  
 rentes suos liberi orabant, ut  
 levandi cruciatûs sui gratiâ  
 pecunia licenti daretur.

Multi & graves dolores in-  
 venti parentibus & propin-  
 quis: multi. Verumtamen  
 mors sit extrema. Non erit.  
 Estne aliquid ultra, quò pro-  
 gredi crudelitas possit? Repe-  
 rietur. Nam illorum liberi  
 quum erunt securi percussi &  
 necati, corpora feris objicien-  
 tur. Hoc si luctuosum est  
 parenti, redimat pretio sepe-  
 liendi potestatem. Cic. in  
 Terr. v. 117, 118, 119.

“ And



“ And the sons themselves bargained with Se- A.R. 682.  
 “ stius for this grace of a single stroke ; and Ant.C.79.  
 “ as a last mark of affection, desired their rela-  
 “ tions to mollify that licitor, and thereby to  
 “ diminish their torments.

“ These are no doubt great rigours exercised  
 “ upon unhappy parents ; but at least let the  
 “ death of their sons be the last. No ; it will not  
 “ be the last. Can cruelty then extend beyond  
 “ life ? A means for that will be found ; for  
 “ after the execution of their sons, their bodies  
 “ are to be exposed to wild beasts. If that be  
 “ an extreme affliction to a father ; why, he  
 “ may for money obtain permission to bury his  
 “ son.” It was not ’till after making and set-  
 tling all these articles, that the captains of  
 ships were publickly brought out to execution,  
 in the midst of the tears and groans of an infi-  
 nite multitude of spectators ; whilst only Verres  
 triumphed, and indulged the joy of having de-  
 livered himself from those witnesses of his mal-  
 versation.

This man, who was so cruel to others, who  
 did not spare even the Roman citizens, several  
 of whom were whipt with rods, beheaded, and  
 even crucified, by his order, was inexpressibly  
 soft and effeminate in his own person. I be-  
 lieve the reader will be pleased with my giving  
 him some of the principal strokes of Cicero’s  
 description of that part of his character in this  
 place. He follows Verres in his distribution of Cic. in  
 the seasons of the year : as Hortensius was for Verr. V.  
 making him pass for a great general, Cicero 26—30.  
 plays incessantly upon that idea, which supplies  
 him with an inexhaustible fund of jests, and  
 pleasantries.

During

A.R. 632. During the winter, he says, that Verres had  
 Act C 70. fixed his abode at Syracuse, a city situated in  
 so pure and serene a climate, that there is no  
 day, however rainy or tempestuous, in which  
 the sun does not shine at least for some time.  
 “ There (a) this excellent general lived in such  
 “ a manner, that it was very hard to see him  
 “ out of his palace, or even out of his bed.  
 “ The short time of the days was passed at  
 “ the table, and the long nights of that season  
 “ in the most shameful debauches.

“ The spring was his time of labour. He  
 “ dated it's beginning, not from the periodical  
 “ returns of winds, or some constellation, but  
 “ from the first appearance of a rose, when  
 “ according to his reckoning that season com-  
 “ menced. He then gave himself up to the  
 “ fatigues of journeys to visit his province,  
 “ and shewed himself so laborious in them,

(a) Hic ita vivebat iste  
 bonus imperator hibernis  
 mensibus, ut eum non facile,  
 non modo extra tectum, sed  
 ne extra lectum quidem quis-  
 quam videret. Ita diei bre-  
 vitas convivii, noctis longi-  
 tudo stupris & flagitiis con-  
 terebatur.

Quum autem ver esse cœ-  
 perat, (cujus iste initium,  
 non à Favonio, neque ab ali-  
 quo astro notabat; sed quum  
 rosam viderat, tunc incipere  
 ver arbitrabatur) dabat se la-  
 boris atque itineribus: in qui-  
 bus usque eò se præbebat pa-  
 tientem atque impigrum, ut  
 eum nemo unquam in equo  
 sedentem videret. Nam, ut  
 mos fuit Bithyniæ regibus,

lecticâ octophoro ferebatur;  
 in quâ pulvinus erat perle-  
 cidus, Melitensi rosâ fartus:  
 ipse autem coronam habebat  
 unam in capite, alteram in  
 collo, reticulumque ad narès  
 sibi admovebat, tenuissimo  
 lino, minutis maculis, ple-  
 num rosæ. Sic confecto iti-  
 nere, quum ad aliquod op-  
 pidum venerat, eadem lectica  
 usque in cubiculum defere-  
 batur. Eò veniebant Siculi  
 Magistratus, veniebant Equi-  
 tes Romani.--Deinde ubi pau-  
 lisper in cubiculo, pretio non  
 æquitate jura descripserat,  
 Veneri jam & Libero reli-  
 quum tempus deberi arbitra-  
 batur. *Cic. in Verr. v. 26,*  
 27.

“ that

“ that no man ever saw him on horseback. For, A. R. 682.  
 “ according to the custom of the kings of Bithy- Ant.C.70.  
 “ nia, he caused himself to be carried upon eight  
 “ men’s shoulders in a litter, in which was a  
 “ cushion of transparent stuff full of roses. He  
 “ had a wreath of them on his head, another  
 “ round his neck, and held in his hand a little  
 “ bag of fine linnen also filled with roses,  
 “ which he smelt to from time to time. In  
 “ this equipage he made his entry into the  
 “ cities, and did not quit his litter, ’till he ar-  
 “ rived in the chamber, where he was to lodge.  
 “ Thither repaired such as had business with  
 “ him, Sicilians, magistrates, Roman knights,  
 “ and others, to whom he gave short audien-  
 “ ces; and after he had spent some few mo-  
 “ ments in dispensing judgments, rather ac-  
 “ cording to the weight of money, than that  
 “ of justice, he thought the rest of the time  
 “ was to be devoted to his two favourite divi-  
 “ nities, Bacchus and Venus.”

Summer had always been thought by the o-  
 ther prætors of Sicily the proper season of the  
 year for making their progress, in order to  
 know in their own persons the state of the har-  
 vest, and to prevent the insurrections of slaves,  
 which were much feared in that island, since the  
 horrid calamities, that two wars with the slaves  
 had occasioned. Verres, that general of a new  
 kind, fixed his quarters of refreshment then  
 upon the coast of Syracuse, under tents of fine  
 linnen, in the shade of a delightful grove,  
 where he shut himself up for two months to-  
 gether, without quitting that charming abode  
 all the while, and without any body having ac-  
 cess to him, except the companions of his de-  
 bauches.

In



A R. 682.  
Ant C. 70.

In this manner did Verres pass the year, never deviating from his shameful pleasures, except to commit acts of injustice and oppression. As extortions and robberies were the proper object of Cicero's accusation, and it would not be possible to give the particulars of them here, I proceed to present the reader with a general idea of them in respect to the works of sculpture, plate, and other the like things of great value, as the orator has given it us at the head of his fourth oration.

“(a) I proceed now, said he, to what Verres calls his taste for fine things, his friends term his disease and madness, and the Sicilians, thefts and robberies; as for me, I know not by what name to call it: but the fact is as follows. Sicily is a very large and rich province, which has long enjoyed peace under our government; it abounds with cities, and fine country-houses and plantations. I affirm, that, in all that island,

(a) Venio nunc ad istius, quemadmodum ipse appellat, studium; ut amici ejus, morbum & insaniam; ut Siculi, latrocinium: ego quo nomine appellem, nescio. Rem vobis proponam.—Nego in Sicilia totâ, tam locupleti, tam vetere provinciâ, tot oppidis, tot familiis, tam copiosis, ullum argenteum vas, aut Corinthium, aut Deliacum fuisse, ullum gemmam aut margaritam, quidquam ex auro aut ebore factum, signum ullum æneum, marmoreum, eburneum; nego ullam picturam, neque in tabulâ, neque textilem fuisse, quin con-

quisierit, inspexerit, quod placitum sit abstulerit.—Quum dico nihil istum ejusmodi rerum in totâ provincia reliquisse, Latinè me scitote, non accusatoriè loqui. Etiam planius. Nihil in ædibus cujusquam, ne in oppidis quidem: nihil in locis communibus, ne in fanis quidem; nihil apud Siculum, nihil apud civem Romanum: denique nihil istum, quod ad oculos animumque acciderit, neque privati, neque publici, neque profani, neque sacri, tota in Sicilia reliquisse. *Cic. in Verr. IV. 1, 2.*

“ there

“ there is not a single vessel of plate or brass, A.R. 682.  
 “ either of Corinth or Delos, not a precious Ant.C.70.  
 “ stone, nor work of gold or \* ivory, not a  
 “ figure of ivory, brass, or marble, not a  
 “ painting or historical tapestry, that Verres  
 “ did not covet and inspect; engrossing all  
 “ to himself that had the misfortune to please.  
 “ Some may suspect exaggeration in what I  
 “ say; but there is none. I do not speak the  
 “ language of an accuser, but the literal truth.  
 “ No; there was not a single fine work of the  
 “ nature of those I have mentioned, either in  
 “ private houses, or the cities, either in pub-  
 “ lic places or temples, in the habitation of  
 “ Sicilians, or Roman citizens settled in the  
 “ island, that Verres did not take away through-  
 “ out the whole extent of his province: pub-  
 “ lic or private, sacred or profane, were alike  
 “ his prey.”

Let me be allowed to add a last circumstance to this image of Verres's conduct. It was the custom with the ancients to affix upon their plate of all kinds, exquisite ornaments of the goldsmiths and carvers workmanship, that could be taken off at pleasure. Cicero declares, that there was not an house of any little fortune in Sicily, that had not a cup and stand for libations, and a censer for burning perfumes in honour of the gods, all of silver, with such ornaments as I have just mentioned; and he affirms with equal confidence, that after the prætorship of Verres, there was not a single piece of plate of that kind in Sicily which retained those ornaments. The prætor took them all,

\* Ivory was very valuable | infinitely more esteemed than it  
 ble amongst the ancients, and | is amongst us.

and

A. R. 632. and entirely stript the plate of it's decorations.  
 Ant. C. 70. He did this in some cities of Sicily at one blow and by a single order, giving some of his creatures commission to go from house to house, and to rob all the plate they should find. On a certain occasion he did this in a more compendious manner. He was arrived near the city of Haluntium, which was situated upon an eminence, and therefore somewhat difficult of access. He did not think proper to give himself the trouble of going up to it, but having sent for one of the principal citizens, he ordered him to bring to him all the plate in the city, divested it of all the incrustations, and permitted him to carry back the rest.

Cic. in  
 Verr. IV  
 54.

We come now to the use, which he made of all these ornaments stolen with so much injustice and impudence. When he had got a prodigious collection of them, he set up a workshop in the palace of the prætors at Syracuse, invited thither a vast multitude of artificers, goldsmiths, chasers, sculptors, and the like mechanics, and set them at work in making gold plate for him. During eight successive months they were fully employed, though they worked only in gold. The prætor presided at their work, and found means to affix to, and dispose in, these gold vessels the figures he had stole, which were in a manner so many little master-pieces. And thus he united the beauties of art with the richness of matter.

I was the better pleased to enter into some detail upon these facts, because they seem extremely singular to me, as they have nothing that comes up to them in history. Accustomed as we are to possess our fortunes in safety and tranquillity under the protection of laws, we  
 have



have no idea of tyranny carried to such amazing excess. I am sensible, that Cicero is here an accuser, whose evidence, one would think, ought not to be taken literally. But he only speaks after written pieces and the depositions of witnesses; and the event of the cause will prove what he advances.

If any one be surprized, that Verres should dare to commit so many odious and manifest crimes, and was not afraid to expose himself to the severity of the laws, Cicero supplies me with an answer. The criminal, knowing, that there was no justice to be had in Rome, assured himself of impunity, and was persuaded, that by sharing his thefts with the judges, who were to punish them, he should shelter himself from all prosecutions. He did not conceal his thoughts upon this head, and said openly, “ that those ought to fear, who had robbed only for themselves; but that as for him, he had stolen enough to satisfy the cravings of many.” Having had some little success in the beginning of the affair, which consisted in his having found means to gain time; he congratulated himself upon having learnt in good time the value of money, which did him such great service on occasion. And lastly, in his province itself he had frequently said in the presence of witnesses, “ that he had a powerful friend (this was Hortensius) with whose support he could pillage the people with impunity; that he did not amass riches only for himself, but that he had divided the three years of his prætorship into three parts, and should think himself very happy to retain only one of them to himself; that one he intended for his advocates and defenders; “ and

*Confidence of Verres in his money and the protection of Hortensius.*

*Act. I. in Verr.*

*n. 4.*

*n. 8.*

A.R. 682 “ and reserved the product of the third, which  
Ant.C. 70. “ was the richest, for the judges.”

It was not without reason, that Verres placed his confidence in Hortensius. That orator did not value himself upon imitating the uncorrupt conduct of his predecessors, of whose example Cicero more than once reminds him; L. Crassus and M. Antonius, who in defending the causes, with which they charged themselves, employed only zeal full of honour, and their great talents and abilities. We have seen, that he had made it his practice boldly to corrupt the judges. Neither did he copy the disinterestedness of those ancient orators, as Cicero reproaches him in very sharp terms. “ Crassus (*a*) and Antonius, says he to him, “ would not have undertaken the defence of “ such a criminal as Verres. They would “ have apprehended, that by supporting one “ lost to all sense of shame, they should have “ exposed themselves to the same censure. Accordingly they took great care to preserve “ themselves entirely free in respect to their “ clients; and did not hazard, either appearing little delicate in point of probity, by defending a cause manifestly bad, or being accused of ingratitude by abandoning a person, whose liberality they had experienced.”

Hortensius had received presents from Verres, which was considered at that time as below the dignity of the profession. Mention

(*a*) Ad hanc causam non accederent, ne in alterius defendendo esse nolissent, impudentia sui pudoris estimationem amitterent. Libenter enim ad causas solutique veniebant: neque commit-

tebant, ut, si impudentes in defendendo esse nolissent, ingrati in deferendo existimarentur, *Cic. in Verr. L. II.* n. 192.

was made in particular of an ivory Sphinx, A.R. 632. which gave occasion for a smart saying of Cicero. Ant.C 70. For as the latter attacked his adversary in an indirect ironical manner, Hortensius, who pretended not to understand him, told him that he was not good at expounding riddles. *That's a (a) wonder*, replied Cicero, *as you have the Sphinx (b) at home*.

Cicero's conduct was of a very different nature. Nothing was more honourable than his motive for accusing Verres. He (c) was requested to do so by the Sicilians, who after having experienced his integrity and disinterestedness, whilst he was quæstor in Sicily, were now for making proof of his zeal and his talents. He acted for an oppressed province, against a wretch, who had however on his side part of whatever was greatest in Rome, Hortensius, Sisenna, the Metelli, the Scipios. And from the moment he undertook the affair, he pursued it with a courage, that no obstacle could abate or retard.

The first chicane Hortensius played off against him, was to call in question even his function of accuser by one Q. Cæcilius, who had been Verres's quæstor, and pretended to be charged with the prosecution of him preferably to Cicero. This difficulty produced a trial in

(a) Atqui debes, quum Spargem conuincas. *Quintil. VI. 3.*

(b) *The Sphinx in fable proposes a riddle, and he who proposes a riddle, knows the explanation of it. It is upon that Cicero's thought turns. If any one has forgot the fable of the Sphinx, they may*

*find it in Cornèille's Oedipus.*

(c) Quum hanc causam Siculorum rogatu recepissem, idque mihi amplum & præclarum existimâssem, eos velle meæ fidei diligentiaque periculum facere, qui innocentia abstinentiaque fecissent; tum, &c. *Cic. Act. I. in Verr. n. 34.*



AR 682. form; and our orator was obliged to plead  
 Ant.C.70. first for establishing the choice of the Sicilians  
 who had applied to him, and to remove that  
 man of straw, who only claimed a right to ac-  
 cuse Verres, in order to procure him the means  
 of being acquitted. Hortensius gave himself  
 infinite pains in respect to this preliminary,  
 of which he forebaw the consequence; and no-  
 thing did Cicero more honour, than the fear of  
 an adversary, who at that time in a manner  
 reigned absolute at the Bar. The discourse  
 which Cicero puts into his mouth, for concili-  
 ating the judges in favour of Cæcilius, is some-  
 thing curious. He introduces him, speaking  
 to one of the judges, and telling him: “I (a)  
 “do not ask that of you, which I used to ob-  
 “tain, when very earnest for a cause: I do  
 “not ask you to acquit the accused, which is  
 “not the question, but that one man rather  
 “than another should be the accuser. Grant  
 “me this which is at once easy, honest, and  
 “irreproachable; in doing which, without any  
 “danger to you, without any risque of repu-  
 “tation, you will have granted what I de-  
 “fire, and the person whose cause I defend,  
 “will be acquitted.” Cicero rendered all the  
 solicitations of Hortensius ineffectual, and the  
 judges decreed him the office of accuser, as the  
 person the Sicilians required, and whom Verres  
 feared most.

(a) Non illud peto, quod quod honestum, quod non in-  
 soleo, quum vehementius con- vidiosum; quod quum dede-  
 tendi, impetrare: reus ut ab- ris, sine ullo tuo periculo,  
 solvatur, non peto; sed ut sine infamiâ illud dedois,  
 ab hoc potius quàm ab illo ut is absolvatur, cujus ego  
 accusetur, id peto. Da mihi causâ laboro. *Cic. Divin. n.*  
 hoc: concede quod facile est, 23.

The

The question then was for Cicero to prepare informations, and to collect proofs against the accused. In order to this, after having taken out a commission from the prætor, who presided in trying crimes of extortion, he made a voyage to Sicily. In fifty days he made the tour of the whole province, and collected a prodigious number of facts and memorials, with which he hastened back to Rome. But what did his disinterestedness great honour, is, that he took no advantage of the title of defender of the common cause, for having honourable and costly receptions made him. He lodged every where only at the houses of his former friends, and those with whom he had contracted the ties of hospitality since his quæstorship. His journeys cost neither trouble nor expences either to the cities or private persons.

Verres, who saw he had a vigilant, laborious, and incorruptible enemy to deal with, was much afraid, though he affected airs of confidence. To sow division between the advocate and his clients, he caused a report to be spread, that Cicero had suffered himself to be gained by a great sum of money; that he would accuse only out of form, and in such a manner as not to hurt the person he pretended to prosecute. Cicero soon put an end to that injurious suspicion. It was the custom of the Romans in criminal causes, that a greater number of judges should be drawn by lot, than were to act upon the trial. Of those chance had appointed, the accuser and accused had a right to except at discretion to a certain number, which was equal on both sides. In this kind of choice Cicero's conduct was entirely fair, and unblameable. The judges whom he retained, were persons of known pro-

A.R. 682.  
Ant C. 70.  
Cic. lib. I.  
in Verr.  
n. 16.

—n. 17.

A.R. 632. bity, and he only excluded those, whose repu-  
 Ant.C. 70. tation was equivocal: so that the tribunal, be-  
 fore which he was to plead, was, as he declares  
 in a manner no less obliging with respect to the  
 —n 18. judges than honourable for himself, the best  
 composed and the most venerable, that had been  
 seen since Sylla's dictatorship.

Cic. A&I. The integrity of the judges disconcerted  
 in Verr. Verres's projects. Corruption was practised so  
 n. 15. publickly at Rome, that on arriving from his  
 province, he had made a bargain with a certain  
 cabal, which took upon themselves, upon de-  
 positing a sum agreed on in a third hand, to  
 cause him to be acquitted by the judges, be-  
 fore whom he should be tried. But when they  
 saw the persons, who formed that tribunal, the  
 bargain was declared void, and Verres with-  
 drew his money.

—n 18. An event of great consequence for him, how-  
 ever revived his hopes. Hortensius, his defender,  
 was elected consul. Verres not only assured  
 himself then of being brought off safe, but all  
 the world were of the same opinion. Curius,  
 an illustrious person and of consular dignity, at  
 the moment the assembly broke up, instead of  
 making his compliments to the consul elect,  
 ran to Verres, embraced him, and said, *I fore-  
 tel that from the election just made, you are ac-  
 quitted.* Add to this, other circumstances, still  
 more and more in favour of Verres. I have  
 said, that the Metelli supported him, and warmly  
 —n. 27. espoused his interest. Three brothers of that  
 family were in offices, that enabled them to serve  
 him powerfully; Q. Metellus, consul elect  
 with Hortensius; M. Metellus, also chosen  
 prætor for the ensuing year, and in whose jurif-  
 diction it was to take cognizance of the crime of  
 extortion;



extortion ; and lastly L. Metellus, actually præ- A.R. 682.  
tor in Sicily and successor of Verres. Q. Me- Ant.C.70.  
tellus, the consul elect, even made no difficulty  
to send for the Sicilians, that were at Rome sol-  
liciting their affair, and to intimidate them by  
many considerations ; assuring them, that they  
would not succeed. He shewed himself grate-  
ful, if it be true, as Cicero says very clearly,  
that Verres had bought suffrages for obtaining  
him the consulship.

So many obstacles did not diminish Cicero's —n. 25.  
zeal, who saw himself personally attacked, and  
in danger of losing the office of edile. Verres  
was very active against him, and promised  
money to those who traded in intrigues of this  
kind, if they could prevent his accuser from  
obtaining the charge at which he aspired. But  
all these attempts proved ineffectual (a). The  
Roman people would not suffer, that a man,  
whose riches could not seduce Cicero, nor make  
him depart from his honour and duty, should  
succeed in excluding him from the public dig-  
nities by money.

Cicero in consequence having been nominated  
Edile, and thereby finding himself at leisure  
from all avocations but that of this prosecution,  
determined to push it with the utmost vivacity.  
Hortensius's game was to spin it out in length  
if possible to the month of January, when the  
new magistrates entered upon office. Verres  
at that time would have had both the consuls  
and the prætor, who was to preside at his trial,

(a) Fecit animo libentius ejusdem pecuniis de honore  
sine populus Romanus, ut deiceretur. Cic. *Ad. I. in Verr.*  
cujus divitiæ me de sine de- n. 25.  
ducere non potuissent, ne

A. R. 682 on his side. Though it was now only the beginning of August, Hortensius's hope was not ill founded, because a cause so complicated with facts, and of such importance, must necessarily require a very great number of hearings. Now from the month of August to the end of the year, almost the whole interval was filled up with games and shews, which were times of vacation.

Cicero conducted himself, not only as a man of great ability, but as a man of honour, who prefers the interest of his cause to that of his glory. Had he treated this affair with extent, he would have had the finest occasion that ever was for displaying his eloquence. But there was reason to fear that the accused would escape out of his hands. He therefore renounced his personal and peculiar advantage; and, after a short introduction, he proceeded immediately to produce his witnesses, only promising a few words to explain the facts and deduce inferences from them. By this method the affair was soon in great forwardness; and the multitude of witnesses joined with the atrociousness of the facts, disconcerted Verres and his defender to such a degree, that they scarce undertook so much as to reply. Before the games began, the cause was completed; and the accused finding that it was impossible to avoid condemnation, did not stay for the sentence, but retired into banishment.

Thus terminated this affair, which did Cice-  
ro infinite honour, by the proofs which he gave  
in it, not so much of his eloquence, but of  
qualities more estimable than all the eloquence  
imaginable, of a warm passion for justice, for  
the redress of states barbarously oppressed, for  
the honour of the senate, of which he was a  
member,

member, of activity, vigilance, and a courage A R 682.  
that surmounted all obstacles; and lastly, of a Ant.C.70.  
perfect integrity in respect to an adversary,  
who would have thought the greatest profusions  
nothing for extricating himself out of danger.

I am sorry, that Plutarch clouds this last ar- See Min  
ticle, in telling us that Cicero was suspected of ill founded  
having suffered himself to be corrupted, in respect cast by  
to the estimate of damages and interests, which, Plutarch  
according to that historian, were calculated at upon Cicero.  
only seven hundred and fifty thousand drach-  
mas, that is, between eighteen and nineteen  
thousand pounds *sterling*. If it were true, that  
Verres could have come off for so moderate a  
sum of money, it would not be easy to justify  
his accuser. But who will believe, that Cicero Di in.  
was satisfied with damages and interests to the n. 1).  
amount of only nineteen thousand pounds; when  
in opening the affair he had declared to the  
judges, that the account was to the value of  
six hundred and fifty thousand? Besides which,  
the sum mentioned by Plutarch is contradicted  
by Asconius Pedianus, who says, that it cost Ascon. in  
Verres two hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Act. I. in  
In a word, the whole life of Cicero, which was Verr.  
always infinitely remote from baseness and for-  
did interest, manifestly acquits him of a report  
spread amongst the people, which Plutarch took  
up with too little precaution.

For the rest, after having discharged his duty That ora-  
to the Sicilians and the commonwealth, Cicero tor com  
thought it allowable for him to do something posed a tor  
for himself. He was resolved not to lose to the affair  
rich a subject, that supplied him with an occa- five books  
sion of displaying all his talents, and he com- of the ac-  
posed the five books, which are come down to Verr.  
us under the title of *Actio secunda in Verrem*.



A. K. 682 He supposes in it, that Verres, instead of retir-  
 Ant. C. 70 ing, as he did in reality, had the impudence  
 to appear again, and that the judges had ap-  
 pointed a second trial. Those five books, and  
 especially the last, are master-pieces, wherein  
 we know not which charms us most, the riches  
 and abundance of the expressions and turns,  
 the happiness and force of the arguments, the  
 vehemence of the passions, the elevation of  
 the sentiments, or, lastly, the refined art with  
 which the orator has known how to throw  
 variety into an uniform subject, and make what  
 was naturally sad, gay and delightful. Every  
 person of education is acquainted with, and  
 admires, these discourses. What determined  
 Cicero to compose them, was, his not designing  
 to accuse often; and indeed Verres is the first,  
 and only one he ever did accuse.

Ant. C. 70 Few events remain for completing our ac-  
 count of what passed in the city during the  
 consulship of Pompey and Crassus. The cen-  
 sors, L. Gellius and Cn. Lentulus, before whose  
 magistracy fifteen years had elapsed without  
 the commonwealth's having any censors, re-  
 viewed the senate with severity, and struck off  
 from the list sixty-four senators, twice as many  
 as we remarked with wonder in the year 637.  
 One of those excluded was C. Antonius, the  
 second son of the orator M. Antonius, a man  
 of neither morals nor conduct, and one who  
 sought to make up, by oppressing the subjects  
 of the commonwealth, the wounds, which  
 his frantick prodigalities had made in his for-  
 tune.

The censors also expelled P. Lentulus Sura  
 out of the senate, who had been consul the  
 year before. The cause of his being given the  
 surname

surname of Sura, or at least that which confirmed \* it to him, shews at once what kind of man he was. Lentulus being quæstor during Sylla's dictatorship, had embezzled the public money confided to him. The dictator having demanded an account of it in the full senate, he had the impudence to answer, that he was not capable of making up his accounts, and that all he could do was to present the calf of his leg, *præbere suram*: making a wretched and indecent allusion to the custom of children, who upon committing some fault at play, received a slap of the hand upon that part from one of their comrades. From thence came, or was peculiarly given to him, the surname of *Sura*, which in Latin signifies *the calf of the leg*. The same Lentulus having been accused, and making use of the method entirely common at that time, of corrupting the judges, finding that he had two voices in his favour more than were against him, he complained of having been at more expence than was necessary: *I have bought*, said he, *one voice too much: it sufficed to have had exactly my number*. It will be no wonder to see a man of this character enter into Catiline's conspiracy.

A third senator who was also degraded, was a gamester by profession, and was called Q. Curius. We shall also see him amongst

And 2.  
Curius.  
Plut. Cic.

\* I make this distinction, of whom we now speak. But he says learned or ticks have observed, that Livy mentions one P. Sura, L. XXII n. 31, almost 140 years before the fact here in question. That is an undoubted proof, that the surname of Sura was not invented for the Lentulus of whom we now speak. But I do not see that it follows, that the fact related by Plutarch should necessarily pass for false. Lentulus might make a double allusion, both to the custom of children at play, and to the surname he had received from his ancestors.

Catiline's

A.R. 682. Catiline's accomplices. As to the other sixty-  
 Ann.C. 70 one, few of them have come down to our know-  
 ledge. But to judge of all the rest from those  
 of whom we have just been speaking, they well  
 observed the mark of infamy, with which they  
 were noted.

*Census of the Lupercal*  
 The censors performed the ceremony of clo-  
 sing the *Lupercal*. The number of citizens,  
 which was exceedingly increased by the allies,  
 who had been admitted to the freedom of  
 Rome, was found to amount to above nine  
 hundred thousand, that is, to near twice as ma-  
 ny as at the last *Census*, which had been more  
 numerous than any before it.

*The year of the civil war*  
 The end of the year was memorable for the  
 reconciliation of the two consuls. They had  
 disagreed during their whole administration;  
 and Pompey, notwithstanding his promise,  
 having kept his troops on foot near the city,  
 Crassus had not dismissed his army; so that  
 Rome apprehended seeing a civil war revived,  
 like that of Marius and Sylla. In the last  
 days of December, the people being assem-  
 bled, had ineffectually intreated the consuls to  
 put an end to their differences, when a Roman  
 knight, called C. Aurelius, one who had never  
 intermeddled with the publick affairs, presented  
 himself to them, and told them, that he had  
 seen Jupiter in a dream, who commanded him  
 to declare to the people in his name, that they  
 should not suffer the consuls to quit their of-  
 fice, 'till they were become friends. Whatever  
 we may think of this apparition, which I do  
 not insist that the reader should believe, the  
 people were much affected with it, and re-  
 doubled their instances to the consuls. But  
 Pompey tenaciously retained his haughtiness,  
 and



and never moved from his curule chair. Craſ- A. R. 682.  
ſus, more tractable and leſs proud, roſe up, and Ant. C. 70.  
approached his colleague, ſaying: *Romans, I  
think it no diſgrace to make the firſt advances to  
a man, whom you have honoured with the ſur-  
name of Great from his earlieſt youth, and with  
two triumphs before he was a ſenator.* At the  
ſame time he held out his hand to Pompey,  
who on his ſide did not reject ſo obliging an  
invitation. Thus their reconciliation was made,  
and the people would not depart 'till each of  
them had cauſed a decree to be fixed up for  
diſbanding their armies.

They abdicated their office on the laſt of  
December, according to cuſtom, and both re-  
turned into the condition of private citizens.  
Pompey had ſcarce ever before been in that  
ſtate. From his having firſt ſhared in the  
publick affairs, he had always been inveſted  
with ſome command. He began to fear the  
envy, which ſuch a perpetuity of power and  
employments might draw upon him; and be-  
ing conſul, he made an oath, that upon quitting  
that office he would not accept of any govern-  
ment. He kept his word, and his example  
was followed by his colleague.

Vell II.  
31.

This year Virgil was born.

*Birth of  
Virgil.*

Q. HORTENSIVS.

Q. CÆCILIVS METELLVS, afterwards ſur- A. R. 683.  
named CRETIVS. Ant. C. 69.

The capitol being at length finiſhed, four- *Conſecra-  
teen years after it's being burnt down, Catulus, tion of the  
who had preſided at the rebuilding of that ſu- capitol.*  
perb edifice, had the honour of conſecrating it.  
I ſay honour; for ſo the Romans thought it.  
The

A. R. 683. The gravest writers have observed, that some-  
 Ann. C. 62. thing was wanting to Sylla's good fortune, in  
 Phil. VII. his not having dedicated the capitol: and we  
 43. Tac. may remember how ambitious Publicola was of  
 Hist. III. that religious function at the first building of  
 72. that temple; and how jealous his relations were  
 Rom. Hist. of seeing it conferred on M. Horatius his col-  
 Vol. I. league. The person's name, who had the con-  
 secration of temples, was engraven upon the  
 front of them, and that was no indifferent cir-  
 cumstance to men so desirous of transmitting  
 their remembrance to posterity. Catulus, in  
 Plin. XIX. the games, which he exhibited to accompany  
 1. this ceremony, introduced a luxury 'till then  
 Nat. Hist. unknown at Rome. As their theatres were at  
 III. 4. that time in the open air, he covered his with sails  
 of fine linnen dyed with different colours. This  
 example was followed, and carried very far.

Cicero's It did not infect Cicero, who was then edile,  
 Fast. 683. and in that capacity had three games or shews  
 Cic. I. II. to give the people. He values himself with  
 de Offic. reason, for having been at no great expence du-  
 n. 39. ring his edileship. He knew better how to  
 Plin. Cic. apply his liberality, by making it his care to  
 lessen the price of provisions. The Sicilians  
 were desirous to express their gratitude to him,  
 for the services he had done them against Ver-  
 res. He converted none of their presents to his  
 own advantage, but employed them in miti-  
 gating the scarcity, that continually distressed  
 the city, in consequence of the depredations of  
 the pirates.

War is de-  
 clared a-  
 gainst the  
 Cretans.  
 Diad. Ap-  
 pian. I.  
 Dio. apud  
 Just.  
 Ulfen.

This year the war against the Cretans was  
 undertaken by publick authority. I have re-  
 lated above in what manner the prætor M. An-  
 tonius had attacked them of his own head, pre-  
 tending that they held intelligence with Mithri-  
 dates

dates and the pirates. That general, who was A.R 683.  
neglected to excess, as I have said, was defeat- Ant.C.69.  
ed; and the Cretans having treated the quæstor  
and some other Roman prisoners, that had  
fallen into their hands, with great favour, be-  
lieved they had a right to expect marks of gra-  
titude and amity from the senate. According-  
ly their deputies, to the number of thirty, be-  
ing come to Rome, solicited the senate with so  
much address, and gave such weight to their  
ancient alliance with the Roman people, and  
the aids they had given them on all occasions,  
that they were very near obtaining a decree to  
acknowledge them friends and allies of the  
commonwealth.

The intrigues of the consuls, who desired  
the war for the sake of having occasion to signa-  
lize themselves, and to acquire a triumph, pre-  
vented the effect of the senate's good disposi-  
tion. By their management, they caused a  
thundering decree of the senate against the  
Cretans to pass by plurality of voices, by which  
they were commanded to deliver up all the  
Roman prisoners and deserters; to pay four  
thousand \* talents of silver, to give three hun- \* *about*  
dred hostages, to surrender all their great ships, *60 or 70 l.*  
and to send Lathenes and Panares, two of the *Sterling.*  
principal and most illustrious heads of their na-  
tion, to Rome, in order to be punished, upon  
pretence of their being the authors of the war.  
And for the execution of this decree, they did  
not wait 'till the deputies had been to carry  
the news of it, from Rome to their island, and  
brought back the answer. It expressed, that  
one of the consuls should immediately set out  
to receive the submission of the Cretans, or to  
reduce



A.R. 683. reduce them to it by force of arms. The Ro-  
Ant.C. 69. mans (a) were determined, that there should not remain one free country in the universe, all was to give way before their power. And that ambitious view undoubtedly very much favoured the design of the consuls. One circumstance, that appears singular to me, is, it was so commonly known, that with money every thing was to be done at Rome; that the consuls, who were apprehensive the deputies might gain some tribune to oppose the senate's decree, made the senate prohibit every body to lend them money.

When the decree of the senate was known at Crete, the wisest and oldest were for submitting, representing, as was self-evident, that their forces were not capable of resisting a power, which had swallowed up even the greatest kingdoms. But Lathenes and Panares, who saw themselves personally threatened with the vengeance of the Romans, chose rather to involve their country in their own ruin, than to perish alone. They raised the multitude, and excited them, by proper discourses, not basely to renounce the liberty they had preserved from the remotest times. They magnified their victory over Antonius, and exaggerated the shame it would be to suffer, whilst victorious, the hardest conditions that could be imposed upon them, had they been overcome. The war was therefore resolved, and the Cretans prepared to give Metellus a good reception, who arrived in their island with a Roman army.

(a) Creticum bellum — nos fecimus, solâ vincendi nobilium insulam cupiditate. *Fior.*

Metellus had got this province by the voluntary cession of Hortensius, who was at first very solicitous to cause this war to be declared, in hopes of having the command in it, which the lots did actually give him. But he was too much accustomed to that kind of dominion, which he enjoyed in juridical affairs, to part with it easily. Accordingly he preferred the sweets of residing in the city to the fatigues of the war, and resigned a command to his colleague, of which he had been ambitious at a distant view, but which, on mature reflexion, did not seem worth the sacrifice it would have cost him. As the events of the war of Crete interfere in the most important circumstances of it, with that of Pompey against the pirates, I shall defer speaking of it 'till I treat of both together. I proceed here to collect some particular facts relating to Hortensius, in order to the better knowing so celebrated a person.

He acquired fame principally by his eloquence. He shone much from his earliest youth, and the first cause he pleaded at the age of nineteen, acquired him all at once a most distinguished reputation. “ Hortensius’s talent “ says (a) Cicero, the instant he appeared, had “ the same effect as a fine statue of Phidias, “ which was no sooner seen than admired.” He had all the parts of a great orator ; but he possessed two in an uncommon, and almost peculiar, degree, which were memory and gesture.

His memory was so certain, that after having meditated a discourse to himself, without

(a) Q. Hortensii admodum adolescentis ingenium, ut Phidiae signum, simul ad-

spectum & probatum est. Cic. in Bruto. n. 228.

His memory. Cic. in Bruto. n. 301.

A. R. 634. setting down a single word of it, he repeated it  
 A. R. C. 68. in the same terms he had conceived it. Nothing escaped him : what he had wrote, what his opponents had said, every thing was present to him. This faculty rose to a prodigy in him ; and it is related, that in effect of a wager made with Sisenna, he passed a whole day at a sale ; and when it was over, he gave an account of all the things that had been sold, the price of each, with the names of the buyers ; and that in their order, without mistaking a single circumstance, as was confirmed by the auctioneer, who repeated after him from his own book.

*His gesture  
 when he  
 pleaded.  
 Val. Max.  
 VIII. 10.*

As to his gesture, it was so perfect, that when he pleaded, every body was as curious to see as to hear him, so admirably did the motions of his body accompany his discourses. Æliopus and Roscius, the two most famous actors that ever were, the one in tragedy, and the other in comedy, used to come to hear him plead, for improving themselves in their art, by studying the model, which that orator exhibited. It must however be allowed ; that he carried that talent too far, and beyond what suited the gravity of his profession. He might often have been taken rather for a comedian than an orator ; and he drew upon himself that reproach from Torquatus ; who pleading against him, compared him publickly to a female dancer well known in those times.

*A. Gell.  
 II. 1.*

*His ardour  
 for application*

To the happy dispositions, which he had received from nature, he added, during a great length of time, an incredible ardour for application ; without which indeed,  
 as



as (a) Cicero observes elsewhere, it is not possible to attain any kind of excellency, but especially in eloquence. Hortensius let no day pass without pleading in the Forum, or exercising himself in his closet: he frequently did both the same day. It was by this method, that he came to excel all that had preceded, or were cotemporaries with, him: and he was for a time in undisputed possession of the first rank amongst the orators.

His consulship is a period fatal to his eloquence, as Mr Rollin has observed after Cicero. I shall not repeat here what may easily be turned to in his *Treatise upon the Belles Lettres*, Vol. II. I shall only observe, that if he flagged in the latter years of his life, his reputation sunk almost to nothing after his death. It happened to him, as it always does to those, who unite with a taste for antitheses, shining thoughts, and a laboured florid style, the charms of pronunciation. They succeed whilst they speak; but their discourses do not support themselves in reading. Such was the fate of Hortensius's works, which Quintilian, who had them to consult, judged extremely below the reputation he had in his life-time.

If, as (b) Seneca thinks, it be true, that there is a necessary and infallible relation between the manners and eloquence of a speaker, what we know of the luxury and excessive effeminacy of Hortensius, and his extreme fondness for tri-

A. R. 683.  
Ant. C. 69.

*Effemina-  
cy and lux-  
ury of  
Horten-  
sius.*

(a) Studium & ardorem quemdam laboris: sine quo quum in vitâ nihil quidquam egregium, tum certè hoc quod tu expetis, (eloquentiam) nemo unquam alle-

quetur. *Cic. de Orat. L. I. n. 134.*  
(b) Talis hominibus oratio qualis vita. *Senec. Ep. 114.*

A. R. 683. fies, will give us an idea of his discourses, which  
Ant. C. 69. differs in nothing from the judgment passed on  
them by Quintilian.

Macrobi. He was so exactly nice in respect to his per-  
son, that he dressed himself before a looking-  
Sat. II. 9. glass, composing the plaits of his robe in the  
most graceful manner, and afterwards fasten-  
ing them so as to keep them in that condition  
with his sash or girdle, the artificially formed  
ties of which were hid in one of the folds of his  
robe, which seemed to fall negligently. It is  
added, (but the thing is scarce credible) that  
one day, when he had bestowed abundance of  
pains and attention in dressing himself, that  
happening to be in a narrow passage, where his  
colleague crowded and discomposed him a lit-  
tle, he made the disordering of the plaits of his  
robe an heinous matter, and caused the author  
of so singular an injury to be cited before the  
judges.

He was so madly fond of his trees, that he  
watered his plants himself with wine; and it is  
said, that being to plead with Cicero, he de-  
sired him to change the hour, because he was  
obliged to go directly to his house at Tuscu-  
lum, to water a plane of his own planting with  
wine.

His passion for the fish, which he had in his  
ponds, was no less extravagant. Cicero laughs  
at this in more than one place of his *Letters to*  
Varr. L. *Atticus*. Varro enters into particulars, and re-  
III. de Re lates, that Hortensius behaved in respect to his  
Rust. c. fish, as misers in respect to their money: he did  
17. not dare to use them. And it was not enough  
to him not to eat them, he even fed them with  
his own hands. It was easier to have had a  
mule from him out of his stable than a mullet

out

out of his pool. When his fish were sick, he took as much care of them as of his slaves. He caused water to be warmed for them, lest cold water might hurt them. It is said of him, as well as of the orator Crassus, that he wept for the death of a lamprey.

We have here much of the little and frivolous, which I do not repeat without regret, but which the faith of history does not permit me to suppress. I shall do justice to the humanity of his character with more good will, of which we have a great proof in the friendship he always kept up with Cicero, notwithstanding their emulation in respect to the glory of eloquence, and especially to Cicero's transcending him in that point. For in my opinion, it must have been less difficult for the latter to love an enemy overcome, than for Hortensius to forgive a rival, by whom he saw himself excelled. The famous Atticus, that most insinuating and amiable person, was their common friend, and the tie of their mutual good understanding. Cicero speaks almost on all occasions very obligingly of Hortensius: but particularly in deploring his death, he confirms the sincerity of their mutual friendship. "I have (a) lost," says he, not a rival jealous of my glory, as some imagined, but a faithful companion

*His affability, and friendship for Cicero.*

*C. Nep. in vit. Attic.*

(a) Dolebam, quod non, ut plerique putabant, adversarium, aut obrectatorem laudum mearum, sed socium potius & consortem gloriosi laboris amiseram. — Quum præsertim non modò nunquam sit aut illius à me cursus impeditus, aut ab illo meus, sed contrà semper al-

ter ab altero adjutus & communicando, & monendo, & favendo. *Cic. in Bruto. n. 3.*

Duodecim post meum consulatum annos in maximis causis, quum ego mihi illum, sibi me ille anteferebat, conjunctissime versati sumus. *n. 323.*

A.R. 683; “ in useful and glorious labours. In the race  
 Ant.C.69. “ we ran together, I never fought to lay any  
 “ obstacle in his way, nor he in mine ; but we  
 “ rather made it a law to ourselves to assist each  
 “ other mutually with intimation, advice, and  
 “ support, from the sincere interest we took in  
 “ each other’s reputation, which induced both  
 “ to consider our glory and success as a com-  
 “ mon advantage. In this manner we passed  
 “ the twelve years, which elapsed after my con-  
 “ sulship ’till his death, pleading the greatest  
 “ causes together, and yielding the palm, and  
 “ first rank to each other.”

On one occasion only there had been a damp in their friendship. Cicero believed that he had not been faithfully served in his affair with Clodius by Hortensius, and during his banishment he wrote upon that head to his brother and Atticus in the sharpest terms. But, in my opinion, the discourse of a man depressed by disgrace is not to be taken literally ; for such an one is apt to fall upon all the world, and frequently to spare none so little as himself. I return to the sequel of my history.

A.R. 684.  
 Ant.C.68.

Q. MARCIUS REX.  
 L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Q. Mar-  
 cius sole  
 Consul.

Q. Marcius acted this year alone in the consulship. His colleague, who was the same Metellus, that, we said, succeeded Verres in the prætorship of Sicily, died the beginning of January ; and the successor, who had been substituted in the consulship, dying also before he entered upon office, it was not thought proper to proceed to a new election.



The sole consul, Q. Marius, did not render himself very famous in history; and all that we have to say of him is, that after his consulship, he went to take possession of the government of Cilicia, which was taken from Lucullus, where Marius did not distinguish himself extremely.

A.R. 684.  
Ant.C.68.  
*He goes to command in Cilicia.*

M. ACILIUS GLABRIO.  
C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

A R 685.  
Ant.C 67.

It was in this year, that Gabinius the tribune of the people caused the command of the war against the pirates to be given to Pompey. I shall treat this fact with extent in the sequel.

*Pompey charged with the war against the pirates.*

The same Gabinius completed the laying aside of Lucullus, by causing the people to pass a decree, that the consul Glabrio should have Bithynia and Pontus for his province, and take upon him the command of the troops, that had been under Lucullus several years. We have seen, that this commission was above the merit and capacity of him, to whom it was given.

There were great troubles and tumults in the city. The Tribunitian power re-established in all it's rights by Pompey, resumed that of re-kindling the flames of discord in the commonwealth. Besides the noise and violent feuds excited by the law of Gabinius, which gave Pompey, as we shall see, a command of immense extent, several other enterprizes of the tribunes, though coloured with apparent zeal for justice and publick good, and though for the most part useful and reasonable in themselves, revived the ancient divisions.

*Troubles in the city.*

L. Roscius Otho, tribune of the people, proposed and passed a law, which is frequently cited

*Law of Roscius in respect to the Roman knights.*

A.R. 685. in authors. It related to the Roman knights, Ant.C. 67. and fixed the estate, which a citizen was to have

\* *About* 2500 l. for being admitted into that order, at \* four hundred thousand sesterces. Besides which, instead of the knights having no distinguished places in the theatre, and being confounded with the throng, the same law assigned them fourteen rows of seats above those of the senators. This last article, which pleased the knights exceedingly, offended the people. It has been said above, that a distinction of the same kind granted above an hundred years before to the senators, had made the multitude murmur extremely; as supposing it a contempt to them. They were no less dissatisfied with Roscius's law, and their indignation broke out on an occasion, which required all Cicero's eloquence to appease it, as we shall see in the sequel.

*Contests between Cornelius the tribune, and Piso the consul, in respect to their laws against corrupt canvassing.*

*Ascon. in Or. pro C. Cornelio, & Dio. L. XXXVI.*

C. Cornelius, another tribune, caused much greater commotions. This was not from his being either wicked or factious through inclination; but being angry, that the senate had rejected something he had proposed, and would not deliberate upon it, he resolved to be revenged, and to mortify that august body.

Canvassing for the attainment of honours was then carried to great excesses. Besides the ordinary motives that actuated him, there was a recent one that increased his activity. The great number of senators degraded by the last censors, passionately desired to be reinstated in their dignity; and the means to succeed in that, was to obtain one of the curule offices from the people, in virtue of which they had a right of entering the senate. C. Cornelius took hold of this occasion, and proposed a more severe law against canvassing than any subsisting.

The

The senate could not with decency oppose such a law. But it would not suffer itself to be insulted by a tribune. They engaged the consul Piso, who continued alone in Rome, his colleague having set out for Bithynia, to pass a law himself against this abuse; but somewhat different from that of the tribune. This consular law was rigorous, and condemned the person guilty of canvassing, not only to lose the office, for which he had made interest, but the rank of senator; and besides to pay a fine. Cornelius neither renounced the scheme of his law on that account, nor did canvassing cease to go on with such fury, that several men were killed in the forum. The consul and senate being obliged in consequence to oppose at once both the disorders of canvassing, and the obstinacy of the tribune, armed themselves with courage. The senate decreed, that informations should be made against the authors of the murders, which had been committed in the assemblies held for the election of magistrates. The consul took a guard, and in a warm contest between him and Cornelius, finding himself reduced to extremities, he employed the following form of words, which it was the established custom to use in order to signify exceeding danger: *Let all those who regard the publick safety join with me, and unite with me in passing the law that I propose.* He carried it at last, and his law was authorized by the suffrages of the people.

That consul was, as we see, a man of ability; of which he gave a new proof at the election of his successors in the consulship. The people's favour, and the recommendation of some tribunes, raised one Palicanus to that supreme dignity, of whom I have spoken on the

*Piso excludes Palicanus from the consulship. Val. Max. III. 8.*



A.R. 685. occasion of the commotions, excited for the re-  
 Ant.C.67. establishment of the tribunes; a man well qualified to make himself heard by an ignorant multitude, but in other respects without merit, birth, probity, or honour. The tribunes, who interested themselves for him, brought the consul Piso to the tribunal of harangues, and there in the presence of the people assembled, asked him whether he would declare Palicanus consul, in case that candidate should have the plurality of voices; for it was the consul's function, who presided at the election, to pronounce the result of the suffrages given by the centuries, and to declare the person consul, prætor, or censor, whom the people had just chosen. To this captious question of the tribunes Piso replied, he did not believe that the Roman people could be so blind as to confer the first dignity of the state upon so unworthy a person. *But should that happen*, resumed the tribunes, *what would you do?* *I protest*, said Piso, *that I shall refuse to conclude, and will never nominate such a man as Palicanus consul.* This constancy of the consul excluded that seditious man, and spared the commonwealth both the shame and misfortune of having so contemptible and dangerous an head.

*Law of  
 Cornelius  
 in respect  
 to the dis-  
 pensations  
 granted  
 only by the  
 senate.  
 Ascon. &  
 Dio.*

The domestick dissensions and troubles did not continue long. The tribune Cornelius was very much offended by having been forced to give way in the affair of the law against canvassing, and sought an occasion to take reprisals of the senate. An abuse, that had been introduced for some time, supplied him with the opportunity he wanted. In former times nobody could be dispensed from the laws, but by the authority of the senate and people. The senate passed their



their decree, and the people confirmed it by A.R. 685. their suffrages. And the clause itself for re- Ant.C.67. curring to the people, was expressed at the end of the senate's ordinance. For some time it had been omitted to lay affairs of this kind before the people, and the clause was no longer inserted. A small number of senators frequently passed this kind of decrees; which made it very easy for the great to oblige different persons, and to multiply their creatures. Cornelius rose up against this abuse, and proposed a law for ordaining, that no citizen should be dispensed from the laws except by the authority of the people.

The thing was reasonable. However the great, whose power was diminished by this reformation, opposed it, and found a tribune disposed to serve them: his name was P. Servilius Globulus. Accordingly when Cornelius attempted to have his law declared to the people, according to custom, by a publick cryer, to whom a clerk dictated word by word out of a paper, which he held in his hand, Servilius ordered both the cryer and clerk to be silent. Cornelius, bold and tenacious, did not desist, and taking the paper read it himself with a loud voice. The consul Piso, who was present, exclaimed against this irregular proceeding, which annulled the right of opposition. Clamours were raised upon this occasion, and some who were below in the forum, had the insolence to menace the consul with motions of the hand. The consul was for having them seized; the multitude rose, broke the consul's fasces, and even stones were thrown at himself. Cornelius, who was still capable of moderation, broke up the assembly. He did more, and softening

A.R. 685. softening his law, he only proposed, it should  
 Ant.C. 67. be ordained, that dispensations should not be granted by the senate, except when two hundred should be present at the deliberation ; and, when the affair should be presented to the people, that no one should be allowed to oppose the decree of the senate. The law passed with this mitigation ; but the grandees however retained their resentment to Cornelius upon account of it.

*Another  
 law to  
 oblige the  
 prætors to  
 judge ac-  
 cording to  
 their  
 edicts.*

Another very wise and necessary law, again drew many enemies upon him, though nobody dared to oppose it. It was the custom of the prætors, who presided in the dispensation of justice in the city, on entering upon office to publish an edict, in which they declared, what kind of forms of law they intended to observe in trying the causes, that should be brought before them. As all cases were not provided for by the laws, and besides, that the power of the Roman magistrates was very great in the sphere of their jurisdiction, they could supply what the laws had omitted, or even make changes in them. Every prætor accordingly published his edict ; and what was worse in it, they often departed from their own declared rules, and varied in their judgments according to persons. It was this last abuse, that Cornelius intended to reform, by causing a decree to pass, that the prætors should be obliged to try causes conformably to the edict they should publish on entering upon their functions. This law was received with great repugnance by those, who were accustomed to make a traffick of justice. This reformation was afterwards carried farther : and under the emperor Adrian, very able lawyers, by order of that prince, drew

drew up a perpetual form, or edict, to serve as A.R. 685. the rule for all prætors in the administration of Ant.C.67. justice.

Cornelius also proposed other laws, all of *Violent* which admitted much opposition. But we see *state of the* by the account of those, of which the remem- *common-* brance is come down to us, that the common- *wealth.* wealth was then really in the condition, that (a) Livy deplores, when he says, that in his time, they could neither bear their vices, nor the remedies of them. The abuses were great ; but those who undertook to reform them, were frequently actuated rather by pique and animosity, than a sincere love of publick good. Besides which, those abuses had powerful protectors. Hence nothing of salutary was proposed, that did not excite trouble ; and remedies often became worse than the diseases. The state was always in convulsions ; and that violent situation did not end, but with the total subversion of liberty ; which served no longer, but as the occasion and support of all kinds of disorders.

As soon as Cornelius quitted his office, he *Cornelius* did not fail of being accused : but partly by the *accused.* violence of a great body of the populace gathered in his favour, and partly by the connivance of the prætors and accusers, the affair was not brought to a trial, and consequently had no effect. The year following, in the consulship of Cotta and Torquatus, the prosecution was resumed, and carried on with tranquillity enough. The principal persons of the senate, Hortensius, Catulus, Metellus Pius,

(a) Donec ad hæc tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra, nec remedia pati possumus, perventum est. *Liv. Præf.*

A.R. 635. and several others, deposed against him. Cicerone defended him with wonderful address, declining to offend such illustrious witnesses, and however omitting nothing, that could conduce to the defence of the accused. Cornelius was acquitted. Besides, that there was nothing to impute to him, except too much tenaciousness in supporting some enterprizes, which had nothing culpable in themselves, he had been Pompey's quæstor; which at that time was no small recommendation.

A.R. 636.  
Ant.C.66.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.  
L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.

*Pompey  
charged  
with the  
war a-  
gainst  
Mithri-  
dates.*

*Motives  
of Mani-  
lius for  
causing  
that com-  
mand to be*

*given to  
Pompey.*

*Dio. &  
Aicon in  
Or. pro  
Corn. &  
pro Milv.*

This year the tribune Manilius caused the command of the war with Mithridates to be given by the people to Pompey. I refer the account of that affair to the next book. I shall only say here, it was not zeal for the glory of the Roman arms, which determined Manilius to make that proposal. His view was to make his court to Pompey, and to extricate himself from a bad affair, that he had incurred by his own fault.

For towards the end of December of the preceding year, having scarce entered upon office, he proposed a seditious law for distributing the freed men into all the tribes, and consequently to give those dregs of the people great weight in the publick assemblies. As every thing at that time was carried by violence, the faction of the tribune seized the avenues of the capitol. But L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, then very young and only quæstor, formed a body of brave persons, and fell upon that multitude of the populace, which



which he dispersed, killing several of them. A.R. 686. As soon as the new consuls were in office, they Ant.C.66. proposed to the senate to consider the fact of Manilius; and the senate having condemned the law, the tribune was so terrified, that he endeavoured at first to authorize his conduct with the name of Crassus, saying, that he had acted by his counsel. And as no body either did, or would, believe him, he sought a support for himself, in (a) selling his ministration to Pompey's ambition.

If Cicero had not been prætor this year, we Cicero should have nothing to add in this place con- prætor. cerning the affairs of the city. He had the honour to be nominated the first of eight prætors, who were then chosen. The lots were not so much in his favour as the suffrages of the people. They gave him for his province the commission of trying the crimes of extortion under the colour of office: an ungrateful employment, and one in which he had but little occasion to display his shining talents. He acted in it with great equity and integrity, of which the condemnation of Licinius Macer is a proof.

That man, who had been prætor, being ac- He con- cused before Cicero, relied so much upon the demns Li- support of Crassus, his friend, and perhaps (b) cinus relation, that whilst the judges proceeded to Macer. opine, he returned home to his house, was shaved, quitted all signs of mourning, and was preparing to appear again triumphant in the forum, when Crassus came to inform him, that he was condemned. He was so struck

(a) Venalis alienæ potentæ Vall. II. 33

(b) Macer and Crassus had both the same family name, Licinius.

A.R. 686. with the news, that he immediately retired,  
 Ant.C.66 took his bed, and died soon after. This affair  
 Cic. ad. did Cicero great honour, who congratulates  
 Attic. I 3. himself, in a letter to Atticus, on having been  
 capable, in rendering justice, to acquire the  
 esteem and applauses of the multitude. Lici-  
 nius Macer did not want eloquence, and was  
 the father of Calvus, one of the greatest orators  
 of his age.

*He takes  
 upon him  
 the defence  
 of Mani-  
 lius.  
 Plut. &  
 Dio.*

Manilius, whose term of office expired the  
 tenth of December according to custom, was  
 also accused before Cicero, when only two or  
 three days of his prætorship were to elapse.  
 Those, who had set this affair on foot against  
 Manilius, were Pompey's adversaries, in re-  
 venge for his devotion to that general. The  
 accused having demanded of the prætor the  
 necessary time for preparing his defence, Cicero  
 ordered him to appear the next day, though it  
 was usual to allow at least ten days. The tri-  
 bunes upon this exclaimed against Cicero, and  
 obliged him to appear before the people to  
 give an account of his conduct. He ascended  
 the tribunal of harangues with great tranquil-  
 lity, and said, that he was surprized at the  
 complaints of the tribunes, as no body had  
 the success of Manilius's cause more at heart  
 than himself, and that he could not possibly  
 shew it more effectually, than by desiring to  
 be his judge. The people applauded this dis-  
 course. However, as it was necessary to put  
 off the trial, and Cicero's office was upon the  
 point of expiring, they intreated him with  
 great cries to take upon him the defence of  
 Manilius. He promised to do so, and con-  
 formably to the tenor of his discourse in favour  
 of the law *Manilia*, he expatiated in Pompey's  
 praise,

praise, and concluded with an inference against A.R. 686. those, who through envy or jealousy opposed Ant.C.66. the greatness of so illustrious and excellent a citizen. Manilius's affair was postponed, and dropt without any effect.

Cicero, in quitting his prætorship, would not accept of the government of a province. This was in consequence of a resolution he had formed, when he returned from his quæstorship of Sicily.

I stop here, in order to proceed to the exploits of Pompey against the pirates and Mithridates : which will be the subject of the following book.

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BOOK THE THIRTY SIXTH.

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THE  
ROMAN HISTORY.

**W**ARS of Pompey with the pirates and Mithridates, 'till that general's return into Italy : the whole included within a space of six years from the 685th to the 690th year of Rome.

S E C T. I.

*Power of the pirates, who are become absolute masters of the sea. Gabinius proposes a law to give Pompey the command of the sea. Extent of that commission. Alarm of the senate on account of that law. Pompey's speech, who affects to desire to be dispensed with from accepting that employment. Gabinius's speech to compel Pompey to accept it. Two tribunes oppose the law ineffectually. Speech of Catulus, to shew the inconveniencies of it. The law passes. The price of provisions immediately falls*  
at



*at Rome. Plan formed by Pompey for scouring all the seas of pirates. In forty days, he clears all the coast of the west. In forty-nine days more he compleats the enterprize, and settles 20000 pirates, taken prisoners, in several countries. Varro, Pompey's lieutenant, receives a naval crown. War of Metellus in Crete. Pompey grants his protection to the Cretans against Metellus. Debates upon that subject in Crete. Metellus subjects that island, which had hitherto been free. Actual situation of Mithridates. Law proposed by Manilius for charging Pompey with the war against that prince. The senate opposes it, and especially Hortensius and Catulus. Cicero supports the law. Reflexion upon his conduct on that occasion. Praise of Pompey's lenity and justice. The law passes. Pompey's dissimulation. Mithridates is alone and without allies. Negotiation set on foot between Pompey and Mithridates. That prince swears ne'er to make peace with the Romans. Motions of the two armies. Battle fought in the night. Mithridates is defeated. Flight of Mithridates. He resolves to march round the Euxine sea in order to gain the Bosphorus. The son of Tigranes revolts against his father, and throws himself into the arms of Pompey. Pompey enters Armenia. Tigranes comes to his camp to submit to his discretion. Pompey gives Tigranes audience. The old king is left in possession of Armenia, and his son is laid in chains by Pompey. Dispute in point of tenderness and respect between Ariovarzanes and his son.*

## WAR OF THE PIRATES.

*Power of  
the pirates  
was  
become ab-  
solute ma-  
sters of the  
sea.*

I Have already endeavoured to give an idea of the forces of the pirates, and of the infinite damages they did to all nations, as well by interrupting the freedom of navigation and commerce throughout the whole Mediterranean, as by plundering the coasts, and ravaging the little towns, castles, and even cities in the neighbourhood of the sea.

*Plut. in  
Pomp.  
Appian  
Mithrid.  
Dio.  
L. xxxvi.*

Their power from their origin had augmented continually, and was arrived to such an height, that they had above a thousand ships, well built and fitted out, manned by a flourishing youth, and commanded by skilful pilots. To this formidable navy they added magnificence, and, if people feared them, they were still more offended by the pride and pomp they affected. They made their ships glitter with gold and silver, the curtains of the cabins were of purple, and the oars silvered over. If they went on shore, it was to provide superb entertainments, which were attended with symphonies and concerts, and in which they abandoned themselves to excess of wine: they seemed to insult over human race, and to glory in the robberies they committed upon them.

Their ravages and depredations rose beyond all imagination. Above four hundred cities had been taken by them; and thirteen of the most famous temples in the whole universe had been plundered by them of all their riches. They made it their peculiar employment to insult the Romans; and seemed to take pleasure especially to humble and infest proud Italy, the mistress of all nations. They even besieged  
the

the main-roads, and rifled the country-houses, that were not far from the sea. But let us hear Cicero describe, with all the force of his eloquence, the shameful condition to which the commonwealth was reduced at that time by wretched pirates. It is in praising Pompey in the assembly of the people, that he repeats all the deplorable and ignominious circumstances of a war, which that general had happily terminated.

“ During (*a*) the latter years, says our orator, what place throughout the whole extent of the Mediterranean found itself either strong enough to defend itself, or so much out of the way as to escape the searches of the pirates. Who put to sea without exposing himself either to death, or captivity, as it was necessary to navigate either in the stormy season, or whilst the seas were covered

(*a*) Quis enim toto mari locus per hosce annos, aut tam firmum habuit præsidium ut tutus esset, aut tam fuit abditus ut lateret? Quis navigavit, qui non se aut mortis, aut servitutis periculo committeret, quum aut hieme, aut deserto prædonum mari navigaret? — Quam provinciam tenuistis à prædonibus liberam per hosce annos? Qued vestigal vobis tutum fuit? Quem socium defendistis? Cui præsidio, classibus vestris, fuistis? Quàm multas existimatis insulas esse desertas? Quàm multas aut metu relictas, aut à prædonibus captas urbes esse sociorum? Sed quid ego longin-

qua commemoro? Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium Populi Romani longe à domo bellare, & propugnaculis imperii sociorum fortunas, non sua tecta defendere. Sociis vestris ego mare clausum per hosce annos dicam fuisse, quum exercitus nostri nunquam, nisi summâ hieme, Brundisio transmiserint? Qui ad vos ab exteris nationibus venirent captos querar, quum legati Populi Romani redempti sint? Mercatoribus tutum mare non fuisse dicam, quum duodecim secures in potestatem hostium pervenerint? Cnidum, aut Colephonem, aut Samum, nobilissimas urbes, innumera-

“ vered with corsairs? What provinces were  
 “ safe from their incursions? What revenues  
 “ secure? And what ally have you been able  
 “ to defend, and whom have your fleets been  
 “ able to assist? How many islands do you  
 “ think have been abandoned, and cities of  
 “ your allies either deserted through fear, or  
 “ taken by force by these enemies of man-  
 “ kind? But why do I speak to you now of  
 “ remote countries? It was, indeed, of old,  
 “ the glory of the Roman people, to carry the  
 “ war into far distant parts, and to employ  
 “ their forces for the defence of the allies of  
 “ the commonwealth, and not it’s own fire-  
 “ sides. Shall I complain, that the sea has  
 “ been shut up to your allies, whilst your ar-  
 “ mies have never set out from Brundisium,  
 “ ’till the depth of winter? Shall I quote those,  
 “ who, when sent to you by foreign nations  
 “ have been taken on their way, whilst it has  
 “ even been necessary to ransom citizens in-  
 “ vested with publick characters by the Ro-  
 “ man people? Shall I represent to you, that  
 “ navigation was not more free for the mer-  
 “ chants, whilst twelve *Fasces* fell with the præ-  
 “ tors Sextilius and Bellienus into the hands of  
 “ the pirates? Or shall I repeat to you the

rabilesque alias, captas esse  
 commemorem, quum vestros  
 portus, atque eos portus qui-  
 bus vitam & spiritum duci-  
 tis, in prædonum fuisse po-  
 testatem sciatis? An verò ig-  
 noratis, portum Cajetæ cele-  
 berrimum, atque plenissimum  
 navium, inspectante prætore,  
 à prædonibus esse direptum?  
 Ex Miseno autem, ejus ip-  
 sus liberos, qui cum præ-

donibus antea ibi bellum  
 gesserat, à prædonibus esse  
 sublatos? Nam quid ego  
 Ostiense incommodum, atque  
 illam labem atque ignomi-  
 niam Reipublicæ querar,  
 quum, prope inspectantibus  
 vobis, classis, ea cui Consul  
 Populi Romani præpositus  
 esset, à prædonibus capta at-  
 que oppressa est? *Cic. pro*  
*Leg. Manil. 31, 32, 33.*

“ taking



“ taking of Cnidos, Colophon, Samos, and  
“ so many others of the most illustrious cities,  
“ whilst you know, that even your own ports,  
“ and the ports upon which your subsistence  
“ and lives depend, have been in the power of  
“ the same enemies? Do you not know that  
“ the port of Gaeta, so frequented, and at  
“ that time full of ships, was plundered by the  
“ pirates before the eyes of a prætor of the  
“ Roman people? That the daughter of that  
“ very M. Antonius, who had been appointed  
“ to scour the seas of them, was carried off by  
“ them from his house at Misenum? But by  
“ what expressions strong enough could I de-  
“ plore the shame and disaster of Ostia, when  
“ almost in your sight a fleet commanded by  
“ a consul has been defeated, taken, and sunk,  
“ by these despicable robbers?”

This detail leaves us nothing more to desire on this head. Only Plutarch supplies us with a remarkable instance of their insolence in respect to the Romans. When one, who was taken by them, cried out he was a Roman, they affected to be frightened, and trembling struck their thighs, and fell upon their knees to ask him pardon. Then having obtained that grace, they placed him in the midst of them; put on his shoes and stockings, dressed him in his *toga*, in order, said they, that they might not be liable to mistake him; and after having made him their sport in this manner a great while, they placed a ladder over the side of the ship in the open sea, and exhorted their prisoner to depart, and go where he should think fit at entire liberty; and upon his refusal they threw him overboard.

A.R. 685.  
 Ann.C.67.

M. ACILIUS GLABRIO.

C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

*Gabinus  
 proposed a  
 law for  
 giving  
 Pompey  
 the com-  
 mand of  
 the seas  
 in order to  
 clear them  
 of pirates.*

Of all the evils which the pirates did, that which caused most complaints at Rome, was the scarcity and dearth of provisions ; it always violently affects the people in consequence the multitude received the tribune Gabinus's proposal to give Pompey the command of the seas, in order to clear them of that pest, which entirely interrupted trade. The project was useful in itself. But the tribune who formed it, was not induced to it by his zeal for publick good ; for he was a bad citizen and a wicked man, as he will appear throughout all the rest of his life. His end was to gain Pompey's favour, and thereby to raise himself. He did not name him however in his law ; but the publick voice sufficiently designed him : and the decree was carried in such a manner as to constitute not a general, but a monarch throughout the whole extent of the Roman empire. Gabinus proposed, “ That out of the per-  
 “ sons of consular dignity, the people should  
 “ choose one, to whom the command should  
 “ be given for three years, over all the seas  
 “ from the pillars of Hercules, and over all the  
 “ lands to the distance of fifty miles from the  
 “ sea :” (which included the greatest part of the countries in subjection to the Romans, and the most powerful nations and greatest kingdoms.) He added, “ That the person elected  
 “ should be empowered to choose fifteen lieu-  
 “ tenants out of the senators, for the different  
 “ districts into which it should be proper to  
 “ distri-

“ distribute them ; that he should take money A.R. 685.  
 “ both out of the publick treasury and from Ant.C. 67.  
 “ the farmers-general of the revenues at dis-  
 “ cretion : that he should have a fleet of two  
 “ hundred sail, with power to raise both sol-  
 “ diers and seamen in what numbers he should  
 “ judge necessary.”

The senators were exceedingly alarmed by *Alarm of*  
 the tribune's proposal, that manifestly gave *the senate*  
 them a master. They had suffered a commis- *on the oc-*  
 sion not much unlike this to be conferred some *casion of*  
 years before upon M. Antonius. But here the *that law.*  
 difference of the person made a great difference *Vell. II.*  
 in the thing. Antonius was not capable of mak- *32.*  
 ing himself feared, whatever authority was con-  
 fided to him. Pompey, on the contrary, when  
 armed with a command of such extent, could  
 never be forced to quit it ; and the situation of  
 the commonwealth in effect would be to have  
 only a precarious liberty, dependent upon the  
 moderation and wisdom of one of it's citizens.

The outcry in consequence was general in *Plut. in*  
 the senate, except only from Cæsar, who se- *Pomp.*  
 conded in Pompey the example of what he as- *Dio. &*  
 pired at himself. All the rest of the senators *Plut.*  
 fell upon Gabinius with such animosity, that if  
 we may believe Dio, he was very near being  
 killed upon the spot. He escaped however ;  
 and the people being informed of the violence  
 their tribune had suffered, were so enraged in  
 their turn against the senators, that they were  
 obliged to separate, and seek their security in  
 flight. The consul Piso, of whom I have be-  
 fore related several instances of courage and con-  
 stancy, signalized himself on the present occa-  
 sion above all the rest, and went so far as to

A.R. 6<sup>th</sup>;  
Ant. 137  
See Rom.  
Hist. Vol  
I.

tell Pompey, "That as he trod in the steps of  
" Romulus he ought to expect the same end."  
It is not amiss to observe here, that Romulus,  
whom they worshipped as a god under the name  
of Quirinius, was, in another relation, and as  
a king, detested by the senate, and considered  
as a subverter of the rights and liberties of his  
country. Piso saw himself exposed to the same  
danger, with which he had menaced Pompey.  
The multitude gathered about him; and his  
life would have been in extreme danger, if Ga-  
binus, who apprehended rendering himself o-  
dious by so horrible an excess, as the murder  
of a consul, had not controuled the fury of the  
populace. The senate had the resource of op-  
position; and at first the nine colleagues of Ga-  
binus seemed inclined to it. But the danger  
becoming more and more serious, only two of  
them persevered, L. Trebellius and L. Roscius.

*Disse-  
mulate  
of Pompey,  
who af-  
fects to  
desire to  
be dis-  
tinguished  
with from  
this em-  
ployment.  
Dio.*

In the mean time arrived the day, on which  
the people were to give their suffrages in respect  
to the law proposed. Pompey acted his part  
in perfection; and his conduct at this time merits  
attention. For such as he appears this day we  
shall see him all the rest of his life; always  
profoundly a dissembler, and hiding his am-  
bition under plausible language, and an outside  
of disinterest and moderation. He passionat-  
ly desired the command for which the law of  
Gabinus destined him; and there is great rea-  
son to believe, that tribune had not proposed  
it, but in concert with him. But he was sen-  
sible, that in expressing a desire for that em-  
ployment, he should draw envy upon himself;  
and that, on the contrary, it would be an infinite  
honour for him only to have seemed to accept  
it with repugnance, and as if compelled by  
the



the unanimous voices of his fellow-citizens. Ac- A.R. 68;. cordingly, as it was the custom on the occa- Ant.C.67. sion of all the laws, on which the people were to deliberate, for different persons to speak for and against them, in order to make known to the multitude the advantages or inconveniences of what was proposed to them. Pompey ascended the tribunal of harangues, and made a speech, in which he affected great averfeness for the burthen they were desirous to lay upon his shoulders.

He alledged none but bad reasons, his past fatigues which had, as he said, exhausted him; whilst every body saw him full of vigour, and in the prime of life, as he was then but in his thirty-eighth year. He added, that he was afraid of envy, and desired the repose of a private and tranquil life; fine words, in which not a mortal was deceived. He concluded with observing, that the commonwealth had many other persons capable of serving it. But he took great care not to name any one, under the specious pretence of being unwilling to seem to make his court to some at the expence of others.

Gabinus played also his part in this comedy, *Speech of* and took upon him to refute Pompey. He ad- *Gabinus* vanced great principles, very fine in themselves, *to force* but such as made a shocking contrast with the *Pompey to* character of the man who employed them, one *accept it.* to whom the good of the commonwealth was a chimera, and who regarded nothing but his own interest. He said, “It were to be desired, “that in a state there were a great number of “subjects of superior merit. But as those are “rare, when it is their happiness to possess “one, it is necessary to employ him, and to “derive

A R. 68; “ derive to themselves the advantage of his service.”  
 Ant. C. 67. “ vice, even whether he would or no.” For, added he, *that violence is entirely advantageous both to those who act, and him who suffers it: to the first, because they gain by it deliverance from the dangers that threaten them; and to the latter, because it supplies him with the occasion of preserving his fellow-citizens, for whom there is no zealous patriot, who does not expose his person and life with joy. You are not born for yourself only,* said he to Pompey, *you are born for your country; you owe yourself to it's occasions; and though you were to meet death in it's service, it becomes you not to wait the order of destiny, but to meet, and to defy, dangers.* These words lose nothing of their truth, though being used by Galba, they are not in his mouth, and that the mock-use, which he makes of them, may almost pass for a kind of sacrilege.

*Two tribunes in fact*

I have said before, that two tribunes were resolved to oppose the law. Trebellius rose up to speak, but as he saw, that nobody gave ear to him, he retired in two words, that he forbore to stir up the people to give their suffrages. Cælius was prepared for every thing; and supported by the example of T. Gracchus, who had formerly divested his colleague M. Octavius of the tribuneship, he undertook to treat Trebellius in the same manner; and instead of sending the tribes to vote concerning his law, he made them deliberate concerning the deprivation of the opposing tribune. Trebellius persisted boldly, 'till seventeen of the tribes had given their voices against him. But then, seeing that if the eighteenth did the same he

he was undone, he chose rather to recede from A.R. 685.  
his opposition. Ant.C.67.

Roscius Otho, another tribune, intimidated Plut. &  
by the danger his colleague had just ran; and Dio.  
besides, not being able by any exertion of his  
voice to make himself heard in the dreadful  
tumult of so great a multitude, in so violent an  
agitation, he lifted up two fingers in the air,  
to signify, he required, that this monarchical  
command should not be given to Pompey a-  
lone, but that they should divide it between him  
and another. The people perfectly compre-  
hended Roscius's thought; and indignation made  
them raise so terrible a cry, that it is related, a  
raven flying over the assembly was struck with  
it as with thunder, and fell dead in the midst of  
the forum.

It was to no purpose to try any new efforts. *Speech of*  
However, Hortensius and Catulus, whether they *Catulus to*  
did not despair of gaining something, or that *show the*  
they might be conscious to themselves of hav- *inconveni-*  
ing done all in their power on an occasion, which *ences of it.*  
they considered as dangerous to the publick li-  
berty, spoke successively against the law of Ga-  
binus. They were attended to with silence;  
the respect every body had for such illustrious  
persons, having disposed the multitude to hear  
them. I shall give the reader here some ex-  
tracts of the discourse, which Dio ascribes to  
Catulus, because it contains the true motives,  
which the senate had for opposing the law, and  
those explained with great moderation.

He at first represented the ill consequences  
of accumulating employments and honours up-  
on the same man. *It is, said he, a thing con-*  
*trary to our laws, and experience ought to have*  
*made us sensible of the danger of it. Of this*  
*kind*



A R. 68; kind are the six consulships of Marius, and the  
 Ant. C. 67. many successive years of command continued to  
 Sylla; these are what inspired both the one and  
 the other with those ambitious views; of which  
 we felt the fatal effects. It is next to impossible  
 not only for a young man; but even for those of  
 the most mature years and ripest judgment, when  
 they have tasted too long the charms of autho-  
 rity, willingly to return into subjection to the laws.  
 I do not say this, added he, with design to tax  
 Pompey, I speak of the thing in general. Now,  
 whether we consider it as an honour, it is neces-  
 sary that all who have a right to aspire at it,  
 should attain it in their turn; for in that con-  
 sists the equality of a commonwealth: or if we  
 regard it as labour and fatigue, every body must  
 bear their part of the burthen; which is the com-  
 mon obligation of all citizens.

The second motive alledged by Catulus is  
 no less solid, You have, said he to the people,  
 magistrates and generals established by the laws.  
 You have consuls, prætors, and those who are  
 continued in authority when their terms in those  
 offices are elapsed. Is it consistent to leave them  
 all idle and unactive, in order to introduce a new  
 form of command? Why then do you create an-  
 nual magistrates? Is it only, that they may walk  
 about the city in their robes of office? Do you  
 intend, that they should have the name only of  
 magistrates, without exercising any of the func-  
 tions? Do you not see, that you incur their ha-  
 tred by this conduct, and that you give all those,  
 that can aspire to offices, a just cause of com-  
 plaint, if you annul the magistracies, instituted  
 by your ancestors; if you give no employment to  
 those who are created according to the laws;  
 and seek a particular person, in order to confer  
 upon



*upon him an authority entirely new, and which has hitherto been without example.* A.R. 685.  
Ant.C.67.

Catulus then proposed dividing the command between several generals. But that plan, though undoubtedly more conformable to the spirit of a Republican government, was on the other side not so advantageous with respect to the end proposed. Besides which, the minds of the people were entirely prepossessed with esteem and admiration for Pompey. That prejudice itself supplied Catulus with another argument. In concluding he said to the people: *You love Pompey, and you are in the right. But your affection for him transports you too far. You charge him with all the most dangerous commissions, you expose him to the greatest dangers. Should you unfortunately happen to lose him, in whom from thenceforth would you place your confidence?* The whole assembly cried out, *In you, Catulus.* That most soothing answer, which at the same time expressed so determinate a resolution, stopt the mouth of Catulus, and he descended from the tribunal of harangues. So many contests and speeches took up the greatest part of the day. In consequence it was necessary to put off the deliberation of the people, and the conclusion of the affair to another assembly.

Pompey retired to the country, to cover his game still the more, and to have the honour of being nominated to an employment of such great importance in his absence. When he received the news of the law's being passed, he returned by night to Rome, in order to shun the concourse of the multitude, and of those who coming to meet and congratulate him, would have made his arrival like a triumphant entry.

Cic. pro  
Leg. Ma-  
nil. n. 59.  
Vell. II.  
32.  
Plut. Dio.

*The law  
passes.*

A.R 68; entry. At the break of day he went abroad, Ant.C.67. offered a sacrifice; and the people being assembled, he obtained several things which had not been granted him by the law, and almost doubled his forces. For they decreed him five hundred ships, an hundred and twenty thousand foot, five thousand horse, twenty-four lieutenant-generals chosen out of the senators, two quæstors, and six thousand talents, that is about nine hundred thousand pounds sterling.

*The price of provisions falls immediately at Rome.*

Cic. pro Leg. Manil. n. 44.

The report only of such formidable preparations, and the terror of Pompey's name, began to produce the effect the people desired, and gave them room to applaud the resolution they had taken. The pirates were terrified, and did not dare to cruize with their usual boldness; provisions arrived with less interruption at Rome, and lowered the price. This evidently proves, that Gabinius's plan was well conceived for remedying the depredations of the pirates. But the alarms of the senators was not therefore the less well founded. That did not make it the less a breach of great consequence to the law, and highly dangerous to liberty. Thus human things have frequently two aspects, which induce both difference in opinions, and perplexity, even when considered without passion or prejudice.

*Plan formed by Pompey, for securing all the seas of the pirates.*  
Flor. III. 6 Plut. Appian. Lio.

Pompey lost no time for the execution of the enterprize, with which he was charged, and formed his plan like a man of great ability. He divided the whole extent of the Mediterranean into thirteen districts, each of which he gave to one or two of his lieutenants, with a squadron of ships, and a considerable body of foot, and even of horse. All these lieutenants were equal, and had each the command in chief

chief in the station assigned him: and Pompey, A.R. 685: like another *king of kings*, to use Appian's ex- Ant.C.67- pression, commanded all in chief, and moved occasionally towards the places, where he judged his presence necessary. By this disposition the pirates had no place of retreat. If they escaped one squadron, they fell in with another; and the tracks they once lost, they lost irrecoverably; because the fleets, that had driven them out of them, kept always behind them, and forced them forwards towards the east and Cilicia. The whole Roman fleet being thus distributed, may in some sense be compared to an inclosure formed for receiving deer, by the means of which all the game is forced to betake itself to a place chosen by the hunters.

Pompey began, as I have already said, by *In forty* the coast of the west. His view was first to *days he* reinstate plenty in the city, and in order to *clears the* that, to deliver the three (a) granaries of Rome, *whole* Sicily, Sardinia, and the coast of Africa, from *coast of* the fear of the pirates. He acted with so much vigour, and was so well seconded by his lieutenants, that in forty days all the seas from the Straits to Greece were perfectly cleared, so that not a single pirate ship remained in them. In consequence, provisions arrived in very great abundance: the Roman markets were well supplied, prices fell, and every body extolled Pompey to the skies.

However the consul Piso, through a virulency that cannot well be excused, either prevented, or retarded, the levies of soldiers and seamen, which were continually making. These

(a) *Tria frumentaria subsidia Re-publicæ. Cicer. pro Lege Manil. num. 34.*



A.R. 685. practices obliged Pompey to return to Rome.  
 Ant.C. 67. He was received with incredible applauses, and the people went out to meet him with as much passion, as if his absence had been of very long duration, though it had been only of few days. Their indignation, on the contrary, was so violent against Piso, that the question was no less than to deprive him of the consulship; and Gabinius had already drawn up his law in order to propose it to the people. But Pompey was far from carrying things to that extremity. The senate did not support the consul in his last measures, and at length came heartily into what it could not prevent. Thus Pompey having had full satisfaction, set out again presently from Rome, and went to embark at Brundisium, in order to compleat his victory.

*In forty-nine days he compleats the enterprise.*

The pirates, in proportion as they had been reduced to abandon different parts of the sea, had regained Cilicia, which was in a manner their fortress, and most secure retreat. It was therefore towards that coast that Pompey directed his course; and on his way he met several small fleets of the pirates, who surrendered to him upon his promise. He acted in respect to his prisoners with great humanity and clemency, not doing them any hurt; and that conduct extremely facilitated the victory. For the pirates came in from all parts to submit to him, avoiding his lieutenants, who shewed more severity.

He derived also a new advantage from his lenity. Those who had experienced good effects from having confided in him, gave him intelligence of the retreats of the most resolute, and of such as, being conscious of having committed greater crimes than the rest, had no hopes



hopes of pardon. In this state he arrived in Cilicia, always victorious by the terror alone of his name, or the confidence which his clemency had acquired him. The most formidable of the pirates had joined their forces in order to a vigorous resistance; and after having removed their wives, children, and most valuable effects, into forts situated around mount Taurus, they had fitted out all their remaining best ships; and waited for the Roman General, near Coracesium, a maritime city of Cilicia. A battle was fought, and Pompey, who had a fleet of sixty ships well provided and manned, found no difficulty in defeating the pirates. They shut themselves up in Coracesium, and sustained a siege; but at length their obstinacy was reduced to give way: They thought it best to submit, and delivered up to the victor themselves, their cities, the island they had fortified; and in a word all they possessed. In the places they surrendered were found a prodigious quantity of arms, some finished, others making; abundance of ships, some of which were still upon the stocks; immense stores of brass, iron, sails, cordage, wood, in a word, materials of all kinds; and also a very great number of prisoners, whom they kept in chains, both 'till they paid a great ransom, and for the sake of the service they did them in different kinds of works. Pompey set all these prisoners at liberty, and sent them home to their own countries, where many of them had been lamented as dead, and found even empty monuments or *cenotaphs*, which their relations had caused to be erected to their memories.

A.R. 685. Thus the war of the pirates was terminated  
 Ant.C. 67. by the reduction of Cilicia, the forty-ninth day  
 Cic. pro after the departure of Pompey from the port of  
 leg Man. Brundisium: so that an enterprize of such im-  
 2. 35. portance, from it's beginning to an happy con-  
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 three months. And the victory was so com-  
 pleat (a), that the Romans instead of seeing fleets  
 of pirates, at the mouth of the Tiber, as they  
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 Corsairs had not a single ship in the whole  
 extents of the Mediterranean from the Straits  
 to the narrow seas, through which that sea extends  
 itself farthest towards the East.

*He settles* The question now was to render the fruits  
*20000 pi-* of that victory durable, which Pompey effect-  
*rates pri-* ed by a conduct equally conformable to good  
*soners in* policy and humanity. In this great number  
*lands.* of ships, which he had taken, ninety of which  
 were ships of war; besides, according to Ap-  
 pian, an hundred and twenty in the places,  
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 ing the evils revived, which it had cost so

(a) Ut vos, qui modò Ostium prædonum navem  
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 Manil. num. 33.

much trouble to remedy (*a*). Pompey, says A.R. 685. Plutarch, reflected, that man was neither brutal, Ant.C.67. nor unfociable; and that violence is a vice contrary to nature in him, which may be changed with the change of habitation and manner of life, as by those methods the most fierce of wild-beasts are made tame. He resolved therefore to remove his prisoners from the sea, and to transplant them into inland parts, in order to make them conceive a taste for a calm and tranquil life, by accustoming them to inhabit cities, and to employ themselves in agriculture.

He settled many in different cities of Cilicia, which were almost deserted, and especially in that of Soli, which had been lately ruined by Tigranes, and from the name of it's restorer was afterwards called *Pompeiopolis*. He also transplanted a considerable number of them into Achaia, where the city of Dyma wanted inhabitants, and had a considerable territory. And lastly, he even sent some of them into Italy in the neighbourhood of Tarentum: and the ancient commentator of Virgil gives room to think, that the Corycian old man, the excellent gardiner so well contented with his fate, whom Virgil praises in his fourth Book of the *Georgicks*, was of the number of these transplanted Pirates. Virg. Georg. IV. 125.

(*a*) Ἐννοήσας ὅτι εὖσει θηρία διαίτης κοινανῶντα μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἔτε γέρονεν πραότερας ἐκδύεται τὸ εἶναι ἀνήμερον ζῶον ἔδ' ὀψιον καὶ χαλεπὸν ἔγνω τὸς ἀνδρας εἰς γῆν μεταφέρειν κακίᾳ φύσιν χρώμεντο, ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ βίβλιν εἶδεσι δὲ καὶ τόπων καὶ βίᾳ εἰν ἐπεικὲς συνηθισμέντας ἐν μεταβολαῖς ἐξημερῶνται, καὶ πόλεσιν οἰκεῖν καὶ γεωργεῖν.

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A.R. 635. The Rhodians had a share in the glory of  
 Ant. C. 57. the Romans in this war, for they supplied them  
 Flor. with ships.

Varro, As to Pompey's Lieutenants, the exploits of  
 Pompey's none of them are come down to us. We only  
 Lieutenant, re- know, that the learned Varro, one of them,  
 ceives a revived the (a) project of Pyrrhus, and was for  
 naval joining Italy and Epirus with a bridge. He  
 crown. must have distinguished himself besides by  
 Plin. III. some great and noble action; for Pompey  
 11. & VII. gave him a naval crown, an honour very rare  
 30. amongst the Romans. Consequently Varro is  
 to be included in the number of those, who  
 united the laurels of war with the pacific glory  
 of letters.

War of Pompey made a very great figure in the  
 Metellus in war with the pirates, and in my opinion it is  
 Crete. the most shining part of his life. But we are  
 Freinsh. going to see him in a quite different light in  
 Suppl. the affairs of Crete. Q. Metellus, before the  
 Liv. command of the seas had been given to Pom-  
 XCVIII. pey, had been appointed, as I have said before,  
 84. to reduce that island, and he acquitted himself  
 XCIX. of his commission with success. He defeated  
 & 47. Lasthenes, one of the principal generals of the  
 nation in a battle. He reduced the strongest  
 cities of Crete, Cydonia, now called *Canea*,  
 Gnoſſus, and Lyctus. He obliged the authors  
 of the war, Panares and Lasthenes himself, to  
 surrender prisoners. Every thing went well,  
 if the rigour against the conquered, had not  
 enraged the Cretans. As they were naturally  
 obstinate, and sustained by a great number of  
 pirates, who had long had retreats and corre-  
 spondence in the island, and at that time had

(a) See Rom. Hist. Vol III.

no other place of refuge, they continued in different towns, and resisted with vigour. They even went farther. As they heard much of Pompey's lenity and clemency, they sent deputies to him in Pamphylia, where he then was after having reduced Cilicia, and declared by them, that they surrendered themselves to him, and were ready to submit to all that he should command.

Pompey for every kind of reason ought not to have intermeddled with a war began before he was in authority. The conquest of Crete, though a great matter to Metellus, was so trivial an addition to the laurels and glory of Pompey, that it seemed surprizing he could conceive any jealousy about it. But ambitious of ruling alone, and of being the only one upon whom all things depended, he received the deputation of the Cretans and pirates associated with them: He wrote to Metellus, to order him to discontinue the war with them, pretending that his commission included all Crete, because there was no part of that island, which was fifty miles from the sea: And he afterwards sent L. Octavius, one of his Lieutenants thither, to receive the submission of the people, and re-establish peace in the island in his name and by his authority.

Metellus maintained his right with an high hand, and acted vigorously against those that resisted him, without regard to Pompey's orders, which he did not admit as valid; so that by the most singular of events, Octavius, a Roman commander, was shut up in a place with pirates, to sustain a siege against a Roman army. Metellus did not attack the place with less vigour on that account, and having forced

A. R 635. it to surrender, he ordered the pirates to be  
 Ant.C.67. executed, and treated Octavius himself with the  
 utmost contempt; representing to him the un-  
 worthiness of his own and his General's conduct,  
 who, to gratify a mean jealousy, had taken the  
 enemies of gods and men under his protec-  
 tion.

*Metellus* This affair continued in suspense, 'till the  
*reduces* command of the war against Mithridates was  
*that* given to Pompey by the law of Manilius, of  
*island,* which we are going to speak immediately.  
*which had* That General being then employed in more im-  
*always* portant cares, neglected Crete, and left Metellus  
*been free* to compleat the conquest of it without inter-  
*'till then* ruption. That island, which had hitherto never  
*Strab. l. X* known any foreign sway, lost it's liberty in this  
*p. 484.* manner, and at last submitted to the yoke, which  
 almost all the universe had done already. The  
 laws themselves of the Cretans, laws so much  
 extolled by the antient world, were great part  
 of them abolished by the new ones imposed by  
 the victor, who by this conquest acquired the  
 surname of *Creticus*. As to his triumph, he was  
 forced to wait a great while for it. The in-  
 trigues of Pompey, and the practices of the Tri-  
 bunes who retained to him, prevented Metellus  
 from triumphing three whole years. We shall  
 mention it in it's place.

A R 636.      M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.  
 Ant.C.66.      L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.

*Present* It will not be amiss to call to mind in this  
*situation* place the situation of Mithridates at this time.  
*of the* That Prince, who had somewhat recovered the  
*affairs of* rude blows, which Lucullus had given him,  
*Mithrida-* had re-entered his dominions; had defeated  
*tes.* Triarius,



Triarius, Lucullus's lieutenant, in a bloody action; and being still supported by Tigranes, might be considered as a formidable enemy. As to the Roman Generals, Lucullus was recalled, and had besides lost all authority over his troops. Marcius Rex in Cilicia, and M. Acilius Glabrio in Bithynia, were men of little merit. Pompey was upon the spot, having been led into Asia in pursuit of his exploits against the pirates. Every thing conduced to employing that great and fortunate General for terminating a war in a country, where he was in a manner present, and of which there was reason to expect a glorious period, when he should take the command of it upon him.

The Tribune Manilius, encouraged by the motives, which I have related elsewhere, accordingly proposed a law, by which it was decreed, “that leaving Pompey all that had been conferred upon him by the law Gabinia, the command of the seas, the troops, and Lieutenant-Generals under him; that of the war against the Kings Mithridates and Tigranes, and the provinces, which had been governed by Lucullus, Marcius Rex, and Glabrio, should be added to it.” This was, as Plutarch observes, putting the whole Roman empire into the hands of a single man. For this new law subjected every thing to Pompey, which was not included in the former, that is the countries situated in the heart of Asia Minor, and all the East.

It is natural to suppose, that the Senate must have been still more alarmed by the law of Manilius, than it had been by that of Gabinus. The persons of worth were moved on the account of Lucullus. It was evident, that he

*Law proposed by Manilius, for charging Pompey with the war against that Prince. Plut. in Pomp. Appian. Mithrid. L. xxxvi.*

*The Senate oppose it, and especially Hortensius and Catulus.*

A.R. 635. was divested not so much of the command of  
 Ant.C.55. a war, but a triumph over enemies he had so often defeated. This however was not the point, that affected people most. Pompey established Monarch, the Commonwealth suppressed, and Liberty subverted, these were what animated the zeal of the Senators. Accordingly they encouraged each other to oppose tyranny. But the people, who at that time idolized Pompey, were so passionate for his life, that it was not a little dangerous to undertake to oppose him. This fear reduced the majority to silence, and there were only two, Hortensius and Catulus, who ventured to open their mouths, as they had already done the year before, in favour of the ancient maxims. They employed reasons already worn out, and with which the people, who had conceived a disgust for them, were far from being moved: so that Catulus, seeing that he made no impression, cried out with the greatest indignation, and repeated it more than once from the tribunal of harangues, “ that the Senate had  
 “ no resource left, but to follow the example,  
 “ which the people had formerly set them, and  
 “ retire to some new sacred mountain to pre-  
 “ serve their laws and liberty.”

*Cicero sup-  
 ports the  
 law. Re-  
 flexion on  
 his conduct  
 upon this  
 occasion.*

The law of Manilius however did not want partisans and protectors, even amongst the most illustrious members of the Senate. Several persons of consular dignity, of whom Servilius Isauricus was the most famous; Cæsar, always attentive to second the inclinations of the multitude, and to prepare a way for himself to new employments of the like irregular kind; and lastly Cicero, actually Prætor, supported the Tribune's proposal.

We

We have the discourse, which the last pronounced on this occasion; and I freely confess, that it is easier to distinguish the talents of the Orator, than the principles of the citizen, in it. Dio proceeds to censure him upon this head with a rigour, which I am far from taking for my model. That historian is almost always wrong in his judgments, in respect to all those who were distinguished by their virtue, at the time of which we are speaking. But it is very hard to acquit Cicero of the reproach of not having been faithful to the maxims of the Aristocracy. He had the Consulship in view, and in a manner in his possession; and that was a strong reason to induce him to conciliate the favour of the people, and to make a friend of Pompey.

I am however convinced, that if Cicero had believed Manilius's project pernicious to the Commonwealth, he would never have supported it for any personal advantage that might have resulted to himself. But first, it was evident, that to give Pompey the command of the war against Mithridates, was to take the most short and certain method for terminating it successfully. In the second place, Pompey had always shewn himself so moderate, and so remote from all tyrannical ambition, that Cicero undoubtedly was persuaded, he would never abuse the excessive power put into his hands; and the event will verify that opinion. In a word, besides his military talents, Pompey hath other qualities highly capable of acquiring him the esteem of such a man as Cicero: an infinite abhorrence for rapine and extortion, great mildness



A.R. 636. nefs in the exercise of supreme command, and  
Ant.C.66. equal attention in protecting the subjects of the Commonwealth; qualities the more valuable, as they were but rare in those days; so that (a) Pompey was no less great by the vices of others, than by his own virtues.

*Pompey's  
mildness  
and ju-  
dice.*

Cicero very industriously extols those truly heroick virtues in magnificent praises. The passage is so fine, and so apposite to the subject, of which I am treating, that I apprehend the reader will be pleased to see it at length in this place. The Orator puts the Romans, who heard him, in mind of the dispatch, with which the pirates had been reduced (b). “To what, said he, do you as-  
“scribe

(a) Quasi verò Cn. Pompeium non quum suis virtutibus, tum etiam alienis vitiis magnum esse videamus. *Cic. pro Lege Manil. n. 67.*

(b) Unde illam tantam celeritatem, & tam incredibilem cursum inventum putatis? Non enim illum eximia vis remigum, aut ars inaudita quædam gubernandi, aut venti aliqui novi tam celeriter in ultimas terras pertraherant. Sed hæ res quæ cæteros remorari solent, non retardant: non avaritia ab instituto cursu ad prædam aliquam devocavit, non libido ad voluptatem, non amœnitas ad delectationem, non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem, non denique labor ad quietem: postremò signa, & tabulas, cæteraque ornamenta Græcorum oppidorum, quæ cæteri tollenda esse ar-

bitrantur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem existimavit. Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeum, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cælo delapsum intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere, fuisse homines Romanos hæc quondam abstinentiâ, quod jam nationibus exteris incredibile, ac fallò memoriæ proditum videbatur. Nunc imperii nostri splendor illis gentibus lucet: nunc intelligunt non sine causâ majores suos, tum quum hæc temperantiâ magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis maluisse. Jam vero ita faciles aditus ad eum privatorum, ita liberæ querimoniæ de aliorum injuriis esse dicuntur, ut iis qui dignitate principibus excellit, facilitate par infimis



“ scribe that prodigious rapidity, that navi- A.R 686.  
 “ gation of which the swiftness seems incre- Ant.C.66.  
 “ dible? It undoubtedly was not any extra-  
 “ ordinary force in the rowers, unexampled  
 “ skill in the pilots, nor any winds of a  
 “ new kind, that carried Pompey in a few  
 “ days to parts so remote. But all those  
 “ things, that usually delay others, did not  
 “ make him lose an instant. He never quit-  
 “ ted his course, either for the sake of rich  
 “ plunder, the love of pleasures, the volup-  
 “ tuousness of the finest country, the renown of  
 “ the most famous city; lastly, fatigue itself  
 “ did not stop him even for necessary re-  
 “ pose. His moderation is so great, that the  
 “ paintings, statues, and other ornaments of  
 “ the Greek cities, that enflame the avidity  
 “ of others, he did not think so much as  
 “ worthy of his curiosity. In consequence, all  
 “ nations regard him at this time as an ex-  
 “ traordinary person, not sent from this ci-  
 “ ty, but one who seems to have come down  
 “ from heaven. It is he, who has convinced  
 “ them, that there were formerly Romans  
 “ of the disinterestedness so much boasted;  
 “ a fact absolutely disbelieved now by foreign  
 “ nations, and in respect to which the faith  
 “ of our Annals is denied. The justice  
 “ of our government now shines forth in  
 “ all it’s lustre to their view. It is now,  
 “ they know that their ancestors, were in

infimis esse videatur—Fidem difficile dictu sit, utrū hos-  
 verò ejus inter socios quan- tes magis virtutem ejus pug-  
 tam existimari putatis, quam nantes timuerint, an man-  
 hostes omnium gentium sanc- fuetudinem victi dilexerint.  
 tissimam judicaverunt? Hu- Cic. *pro Lege Manil.* n. 40.  
 manitate jam tantâ est, ut 41, 42.

“ the

A.R. 686. “ the right, when he had such equitable and  
 Ant C.66. “ moderate magistrates, as they see Pompey,  
 “ to prefer becoming subjects of the Roman  
 “ people to reigning over others. What  
 “ shall I say of his affability, which gives ac-  
 “ cess to every one, that has occasion for  
 “ his aid, or any complaint to lay before  
 “ him ? This great man, whose elevation  
 “ sets him above all persons of the highest  
 “ dignity in the universe, is in point of fa-  
 “ cility equal with the lowest. As to his fi-  
 “ delity to his engagements, with how much  
 “ security do you think your allies rely  
 “ upon it, as it has seemed a sacred and  
 “ inviolable assurance to the enemies of man-  
 “ kind ? And lastly, his humanity and cle-  
 “ mency are such, that it is hard to deter-  
 “ mine, whether his enemies have dreaded his  
 “ valour more in battle, than they have adored  
 “ his lenity after their defeat.”

These are great praises ; but however not to be suspected of exaggeration. History speaks of Pompey, as his panegyrist does in this place ; and that circumstance ought to have great weight towards excusing Cicero in a conduct, contrary indeed to the aristocratical party, but specious, and even useful in many respects.

*The law  
 passes  
 Pompey's  
 dissimula-  
 tion.  
 Plut.  
 Dio.  
 Appian.*

The law of Manilius passed, and placed Pompey at the utmost height of his wishes : he saw himself raised by the suffrages of his fellow-citizens, to a power almost equal to that, which Sylla had usurped by arms. But his natural disposition, and a long habit of profound dissimulation, made him pretend great affliction when he received this news. His friends vied with each other in expres-  
 sing

sing their joy. As to himself, frowning, and A.R.686.  
striking his thigh, he cried out, *I am then* Ant.C.66.  
*condemned to endless fatigues. Would it not be  
better for me to lie hid in an obscure state, than  
incessantly to make war, and to see myself over-  
laden with employments that draw envy upon  
me, always deprived of the happiness of living  
at my estate with my wife and children.* This  
language, so little sincere, not only imposed  
upon no body, but displeased even those who  
were most in his interest, and who perfectly  
knew, that besides the pleasure of seeing his  
ambition satisfied, he had another subject of  
joy in the mortification he gave Lucullus.

We have spoken elsewhere of all that pas-  
sed between those two Generals. I proceed  
now to bring Pompey to blows with Mithri-  
dates.

Pompey did not disappoint the hopes that *Mithrida-*  
had been conceived of him; and the ruin of Mi- *tes alone.*  
thridates was but the work of a single campaign. *and with-*  
The Roman General first employed the nume- *out allies.*  
rous fleet under his command in depriving the  
enemy of all resources by sea; and he posted  
his ships on all the coasts from Phœnicia  
to the Bosphorus. The King of Pontus,  
weakened by his many losses, could support  
himself only by the aid of his allies, and he  
relied upon the amity of Phraates King of  
Parthia, and Tigranes King of Armenia.  
Pompey divided the Parthian and him, and  
very happily for the progress of the Roman  
arms, the son of Tigranes revolted against  
his father. That young Prince was son-in-  
law of Phraates, and having retired to his fa-  
ther-in-law's court, had prevailed upon him  
to

A.R. 686 to espouse his quarrel, and returned into Ar-  
 Ant.C.66. menia with the Parthians. Tigranes, in con-  
 sequence, found himself incapable of assisting  
 Mithridates, even though he had desired it;  
 besides which he conceived violent suspicions  
 of him, and was persuaded, that the rebel  
 Prince, who was the King of Pontus's grand-  
 son, was secretly supported by his grand-  
 father. Mithridates therefore saw himself  
 obliged to make head against all the forces of  
 the Romans alone. He had only thirty thou-  
 sand foot, and three thousand horse; and with  
 those troops he covered the entrance of his  
 kingdom, resolved to avoid a battle, and to  
 endeavour to cut off the enemy's provisions;  
 in which he had hopes of succeeding the more  
 easily, as the whole country had been ruined by  
 Lucullus.

*Negotia-* Pompey soon began his march against him,  
*tion opened* having augmented his forces with almost all  
*between* that had been under Lucullus, and particu-  
*Pompey* larly with the legions of Fimbria. On set-  
*and Mi-* ting out he dispatched Metrophanes to Mithri-  
*thridates.* dates, to sound the disposition of that Prince,  
*That* and whether he might be brought to submit.  
*Prince* But the conditions proposed by the Roman  
*swears ne-* General were extremely hard. He insisted,  
*ver to* that Mithridates should deliver up all the de-  
*make peace* fectors, and surrender himself at discretion.  
*with the* That Prince was too haughty not to reject the  
*Romans.* article relating to himself with indignation.  
 He was far from dishonouring himself by so  
 shameful a conduct. But the deserters, who  
 had seen the Ambassadors set out and return,  
 and suspected, or were informed of, what was  
 proposed in respect to them, rose, and drew  
 the national troops into their mutiny, who  
 were



were conscious of the occasion they had for A.R. 686.  
those strangers. The sedition was carried so Ant. C. 66.  
high, that the person of Mithridates was in  
danger. He however appeased the soldiery,  
by protesting, that he would never deliver up  
any of those who had done him service, and  
even that he would never make peace with  
the Romans; that he should always retain an  
implacable enmity for them, and make perpe-  
tual war with them. He added, that the  
Ambassadors he had sent to Pompey, were  
less Ambassadors than spies; and that he ne-  
ver had entertained any real thoughts of  
peace.

In the mean time Pompey arrived, and pre- *Different*  
pared at first to attack him; but not seeing it *movements*  
practicable to dislodge him with ease from the *of the two*  
posts, which he had occupied, and apprehend- *armies.*  
ing want of provisions, he turned towards Ar-  
menia Minor, which being without troops,  
presented an easy conquest. Mithridates, to  
whom that province belonged, was obliged  
to follow the enemy thither; and he incamp-  
ed advantageously upon an eminence of dif-  
ficult access, which enabled him to avoid be-  
ing forced to come to a battle. There that  
Prince well intrenched, and drawing his pro-  
visions commodiously from the countries be-  
hind him, whilst he made his cavalry scour  
the flat country, and often carried off the ene-  
my's convoys, might have given Pompey  
great trouble. But he quitted that post, be-  
cause he wanted water in it. This was a fault.  
He had no sooner abandoned it, than Pom-  
pey seized it; and the verdure, with which  
the hill was covered, having made the Roman  
General conjecture, that there must be springs  
in

A.R. 686. in it, he caused wells to be dug, which soon  
 Ant C. 66. filled with water, and supplied the whole  
 camp in abundance.

The nature of the country which abounded with and was broken by vallies, made Pompey conceive thoughts of an ambuscade. It succeeded. The cavalry of Mithridates suffered themselves to be drawn away far enough to be surrounded, and taken in the rear by a great body of Romans, who had been hid with that design in a valley. It was almost entirely destroyed here; and this was a great loss to the King of Pontus, whom they did great service, and who 'till then had in that respect been superior to the Romans.

The success of this first battle given by Pompey, may be considered as deciding the victory; for from that moment the Romans had more facility in bringing in provisions to their camp, and at the same time they became more bold in harassing and fatiguing the army of Mithridates; which was destitute of the aid of their cavalry. That Prince persisted in declining a battle. Pompey undertook to shut him up by lines from six to seven leagues in extent, and fortified with redoubts from space to space. Mithridates continued thus in a manner besieged during five and forty days. At length pressed by famine, and seeing that Pompey reduced the whole country round about, and being advised, that he received considerable reinforcements, he was obliged to think of flight. He made his dispositions for the execution of that design with ability, and received Pompey's vigilance. He set out during the night, leaving fires lighted in his camp, after having taken the barbarous

barous precaution of killing the sick and wounded. A.R. 686.  
Ant.C.66.

The next day Pompey set out in pursuit of him, but Mithridates marched only in the night, and kept himself shut up in his camp in the day; so that Pompey could not attack an enemy in the day, who at that time never shewed himself in the field; and on the other side, he did not dare to hazard a battle in the night, because he did not know the places. He was however obliged to resolve upon the battle, when he saw the king of Pontus upon the point of passing the Euphrates, and entering the kingdom of Tigranes. As he knew the rout the enemy were to take, he made a forced, and at the same time a secret, march; in effect of which having passed them during the day, he posted himself upon their way, where he found some eminences, that might give his troops the advantage in the engagement.

Mithridates was so ill served by his spies, that he knew nothing of this march of Pompey; and his troops having set out in the evening as usual, less vigilant and less upon their guard than ever, because they expected to be soon in a place of security, they fell unawares into the midst of the Roman army. It is easy to judge their surprize and terror; and Pompey took care to compleat their confusion, by causing the charge to be sounded by all the trumpets of his army together, and ordering all his soldiers to raise great cries. At the same time a cloud of darts of all kinds were discharged from the eminences occupied by the Romans, and entirely disordered an army, which being drawn up for a march, and not

*Battle during the night. Mithridates is defeated.*

A R. 686. in order of battle, was suddenly attacked in  
 Ant. C. 66. the dark, without so much as seeing the enemy.

The evil became still greater, when the Romans, after the first discharges, advanced in good order to attack those troops already half defeated. The light of the moon, which rose at this instant, rejoiced the Barbarians a little, and it was at least some consolation to them, to perceive those who attacked them. But their joy was short-lived, and that light was rather pernicious than advantageous to them. For as the moon was very near the horizon, the bodies of the Romans, who had it behind them, projected shadows of great extent in their front, which deceived the soldiers of Mithridates; so that taking the shadows for bodies, they almost entirely missed their aim, whilst the Romans saw their enemies distinctly, upon whose faces the moon shone directly. So unequal a fight could not continue long. The Barbarians soon fled and dispersed, leaving above ten thousand of their people upon the spot; and the number of the prisoners was not much less.

*Flight of  
Mithridates.*

Mithridates, when he saw his army put to the rout, thought of his own safety, and with eight hundred horse, opened himself a way through the Romans. This guard did not long follow him; and dispersing, he found himself reduced to fly with only three companions. Among these faithful followers was Hypsicrates, one of his concubines, a woman of masculine courage, and whom the king for that reason called Hypsicrates, which is the name of a man in the Greek language. That woman



man did not quit him; and in the habit of a Persian trooper well mounted, she not only supported the fatigue herself, but took upon her all the necessary cares both of the person and horse of Mithridates. A.R. 686.  
Ant.C. 66.

That prince upon his rout picked up about three thousand foot and some foreign cavalry; and with those foreign troops arrived at a fort, called Synoria, which he had caused to be built upon the frontiers of Armenia. It was one of the places, in which he kept his treasures. He took from thence \* six thousand talents, a supply of infinite service to a fugitive prince. As to the rich habits and other things, he distributed them amongst his friends, to each of whom he also gave poison, that they might be masters of their fate, and if they feared death less than shame, avoid falling alive into the hands of the Romans. \* About  
nine hun-  
dred thou-  
sand  
pounds.

His design was to enter Armenia major, and to seek an asylum with Tigranes. But the Armenian, actuated by the suspicions I have mentioned, and besides of too little generosity to take upon him the defence of an unfortunate friend, caused the couriers to be seized, whom Mithridates had sent to ask him permission to enter his dominions, and even went so far as to set a price upon his head, promising an hundred talents to any one who should bring him in.

Mithridates seeing himself deprived of all resources, but what he could find in himself, resolved to abandon what he was no longer in a condition to defend; and leaving to the victor the kingdom of his forefathers, and all the conquests, with which he had augmented it, he determined to try his last remaining hope, He re-  
solves to  
march  
round the  
Euxine  
sea, in or-  
der to gain  
the Bos-  
phorus.

A. R. 686 by retiring to the Bosphorus, where his son  
 Ant. C. 66. Mithridates reigned. The enemy were masters of  
 the sea. Consequently Mithridates could go to  
 the Bosphorus only by land; and the march  
 was capable of daunting the greatest courage,  
 as well by it's length, as the obstacles of wild  
 regions, inhabited by warlike nations, most of  
 whom had no reason to wish him well. No-  
 thing disgusted that prince; he gained the sour-  
 ces of the Euphrates, passed the Phasis, and  
 arrived at Dioscurias upon the Euxine sea, where  
 he quartered during the winter. From thence  
 he set out in the beginning of the spring, and  
 at length arrived at the Bosphorus, having sur-  
 mounted all difficulties, as well those, which  
 the nature of the countries themselves laid in his  
 way, as those excited by the Barbarians, that  
 inhabited it. His indefatigable patience on one  
 side, and on the other sometimes the terror of  
 his name, and sometimes the force of his arms,  
 opened him a way every where.

Pompey at first sent some horse and light  
 armed troops to pursue him. But when he was  
 informed, that Mithridates had passed the Pha-  
 sis, he renounced all hopes of coming up with  
 him, and in the place where he had gained the  
 victory, he founded a city, which he called  
*Nicopolis*, that is, *the city of the victory*. There  
 he settled the old soldiers, and those who were  
 crippled by their wounds, with whom some fa-  
 milies of the country joined. This city became  
 considerable in process of time.

*The re-  
 volted son  
 of Tigranes comes  
 to throw  
 himself in-  
 to the  
 arms of  
 Pompey  
 Appian.*

It was here, that the son of Tigranes came  
 to the camp of the Romans. That prince  
 was the only surviving son of three, whom he  
 had had by Cleopatra, the daughter of Mi-  
 thridates. Tigranes had caused the two others

to be put to death; the first, because he had revolted; and the second, for a proof of avidity and badness of heart, which he had given on an accident in hunting; for the king having had a fall from his horse, that son had expressed little or no concern on the occasion, but immediately, supposing his father dead, had assumed the diadem. The third, on the contrary, who is the prince of whom we are speaking, had ran to him, and helped to raise him up. The old king, moved by this mark of his son's affection, had given him a crown in reward.

That son's fidelity, and his attachment to his father, were of no long duration. Soon after, seduced by the counsels of some discontented Armenian lords, and still more by his own ambition, he revolted, assembled troops, and openly made war against his father. On being defeated, he retired, as I have said before, to the court of Phraates king of Parthia, who had lately succeeded Sinatruces. That king, his father-in-law, not only gave him a good reception, but as he had been brought over to the party of the Romans by Pompey, in concert with that general, he carried back young Tigranes into Armenia at the head of a formidable army, and besieged Artaxata; for the king of Armenia had given way to the torrent, and had retired to the mountains. Artaxata was a place well fortified, and well defended. Hence, as the siege spun out a great while, Phraates being called off by the necessity of his own affairs, returned into his kingdom. The old Tigranes, no sooner saw his son alone, and abandoned by the principal forces of the Parthians, than he fell



A.R. 636. upon and defeated him a second time. The  
 An.C.66. young prince at first conceived thoughts of  
 joining his grandfather Mithridates; but being  
 apprized, that he had been defeated by the Ro-  
 mans, and rather stood in need of aid himself,  
 than was capable of giving it to others, that  
 rebel-prince had no resource left, but to throw  
 himself into the arms of Pompey.

*Pompey en-  
ters Arme-  
nia. Ti-  
granes  
comes to  
his camp  
and, af-  
ter a re-  
sistance.* He served him as a guide in entering Arme-  
 nia; and no less blind as a prince, than unna-  
 tural as a son, in that manner he sometimes  
 introduced the Parthians, and now the Romans,  
 into his own inheritance; destroying his hopes  
 himself, and giving up his dominions as a prey,  
 of which he was soon to become the lawful  
 possessor, if he had had the patience and mo-  
 deration to wait the death of a father already  
 advanced in years. Every thing gave way to  
 Pompey; and Tigranes terrified, thought only  
 how to make his peace with so formidable an  
 enemy. He began by delivering up the am-  
 bassadors of Mithridates then at his court. He  
 also caused proposals of peace to be made to  
 him, but those were traversed by his son; so  
 that Pompey continued advancing, and had al-  
 ready passed the Araxes. The old king then,  
 reduced to extremity, and hearing Pompey's  
 lenity and clemency much extolled, took a re-  
 solution not noble indeed, but perhaps the only  
 one that could be of use to him in the de-  
 plorable situation of his affairs. He received  
 a Roman garrison into Artaxata, and set out  
 with the principal lords, that continued faith-  
 ful to him, to throw himself at the feet of the  
 victor, and submit to his discretion. For this  
 degrading ceremonial he took an equipage,  
 that expressed a mean between his former gran-  
 deur



deur and present humiliation. He quitted his A.R. 686.  
tunick intermingled with white, and his pur- Ant C.66.  
ple robe, but retained the tiara and diadem,  
desiring to appear as a suppliant king, who  
claims regard, at the same time that he excites  
compassion.

The camp of the Romans was about sixteen miles distant. When Tigranes approached, he was met by some officers, whom Pompey had sent to him to do him honour. But at the entrance of the camp two lictors ordered him to dismount, telling him, that no stranger had ever entered a Roman camp on horseback. Tigranes was too much depressed to regard this circumstance. He obeyed, and even gave his sword to those who guarded the gates. He did more: after having crossed the whole Roman camp on foot, when he saw himself near Pompey, he took off his tiara, and would have laid it at the victor's feet, and meanly prostrated himself also. But Pompey prevented him, by taking him by the hand, and making him sit on his right, as young Tigranes did on his left.

The king of Armenia however retained some air of dignity in his discourse to Pompey, notwithstanding so abject a conduct. He told him, "that he should never have acted in  
" the manner he now did to any other per-  
" son; but that it was not shameful to be con-  
" quered by a general, whom it would be  
" criminal to overcome; and that it was no  
" dishonour to submit to him, whom fortune  
" had raised above all other mortals." Pom- Plut. &  
pey replied to this flattering compliment, by Dio.  
consoling the unfortunate prince, and assuring  
him, that he should have no reason to com-

A R 656  
Ar. C. 50. plain of his fate; that he should not lose Armenia, and that he should acquire the amity of the Romans. He afterwards invited him to supper with his son.

*Foolish conduct of young Tigranes. The old king is left in possession of Armenia. and his son said in presence of Pompey.* Young Tigranes was not at all satisfied with what passed. It appears, that he had flattered himself with being put into possession of the crown of Armenia by the Romans; and seeing that things did not take the turn according to his wishes, he shewed his disgust in the most indecent and senseless manner imaginable. He did not rise, when he saw his father appear, and shewed no sign of amity or respect for him. He refused to go to supper with him, to which he was invited; and he did not spare even Pompey, not fearing to say, that if that general did not give him satisfaction, he should find some body else to serve him more effectually.

This language and behaviour were extremely ill adapted to his ends. Accordingly, next day Pompey having held a great council, to which he invited the father and son, by way of hearing their contradictory pretensions, he pronounced his decree, by which he left the kingdom of his forefathers to old Tigranes. At the same time, to exalt his own clemency, and turn all the complaints, Tigranes might think he had a right to make, against a man, whom he hated, he added, “that he took  
“ nothing from the king of Armenia. That if  
“ that prince lost Syria, Phœnicia, part of  
“ Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene, it was to  
“ Lucullus he must ascribe it; it was Lucul-  
“ lus who had deprived him of them.” He only condemned him to pay the Romans six thousand talents. As to young Tigranes, he declared,

declared, that he gave him Sophene, to reign there with entire sovereignty, assuring him besides of the succession to his father. A.R. 686.  
Ant.C.66.

The old king was well satisfied with this decree. Being become as much humbled in his disgrace, as he had been haughty and insolent in his prosperity, he considered every thing the victor thought fit to leave him as a gift; and seeing himself saluted king by the Romans, he was so transported with joy, that he promised to give \* half a *mina* to every soldier, † ten *minæ* to each centurion, and a || talent to every tribune. \* About  
25 shil-  
lings.

His son did not conduct himself in the like manner, and could not rest, 'till he had forced Pompey to make him feel the whole weight of his indignation. He pretended, that the royal treasures deposited in the forts of Sophene belonged to him. The father laid claim to them, and Pompey judged in his favour, because he had no other means of being paid the six thousand talents, to which he had condemned the king of Armenia. The young prince, more and more dissatisfied, would have fled; and Pompey, who was apprized of his design, caused him to be guarded in view. At the same time, he sent orders to the governors of the castles, where those treasures were deposited, to deliver them to the old king. But they refused, alledging, that they could not let them go out of their hands without the orders of young Tigranes, to whom the country belonged. Pompey therefore thought fit to send the prince himself to the gates of the castles, to give those orders with his own mouth. That step was still ineffectual; the governors, who undoubtedly held intelligence with young Tigranes, † About  
25 pounds.  
‡ About  
150 pounds.

A R 686. granes, replied, that their master was not at  
 Ant.C.66. liberty, and that he was made to act and speak  
 in that manner against his will. There is no-  
 thing more vain than to contend with ever so  
 much address against superior force. All  
 these evasions terminated only in causing young  
 Tigranes to be laid in irons. It was at last  
 therefore necessary to obey. The treasures were  
 Vell. delivered to the old king: he paid the six  
 thousand talents, and Pompey, according to  
 his constant custom, caused that sum to be put  
 into his quæstor's hands, who entered them in  
 his accounts.

Plut. &  
 Dio.

Tigranes with these treasures discharged also  
 the promises he had made to the officers and  
 soldiers of the Roman army; and his whole  
 conduct was so agreeable to Pompey, that that  
 general soon after declared him the ally and  
 friend of the Roman people; and to rid him  
 for good and all of the discontent and appre-  
 hensions which his son gave him, he caused  
 that young prince to be kept in chains, and  
 resolved to carry him to Rome, and to lead  
 him in triumph. His father-in-law Phraates  
 solicited ineffectually for him. Pompey an-  
 swered the ambassadors, whom the king of  
 Parthia sent to demand him, that an own fa-  
 ther had more right over his son, than a father-  
 in-law. And in respect to the proposal made  
 him from the same king for agreeing, that the  
 Euphrates should be the boundary of the two  
 empires, the Roman general, without consent-  
 ing to enter into any discussion, and speak-  
 ing as one who gives the law, said, that he  
 knew no bounds but those of right and ju-  
 stice.

Arictbarzanes



Ariobarzanes was the better for the misfortune of young Tigranes. That king of Cappadocia, always faithful to the Romans, to whom he owed his elevation, had been the sport of their enemies; expelled now, now reinstated, and then expelled again, sometimes by Mithridates, and sometimes by Tigranes. The flight and ruin of the king of Pontus, and the peace made by the Romans with the king of Armenia, secured him in his dominions. And Pompey, in reward of his fidelity, gave him Sophene, which he had at first allotted to the prince of Armenia.

Ariobarzanes and his son at this time gave the (a) Roman army a sight very different from that the two Tigranes had given it. The king of Cappadocia was come to the camp of Pompey; and whilst that general was on his tribunal, he was seated by his side in a curule chair. But he observed his son placed by a secretary's desk. The father's tenderness could not bear to see his son in a seat, that suited his rank so ill. He descended, and went to him to circle his head with the diadem, and to bid him take the place, he had just quitted. The son out of respect opposing the tenderness of his father, shed tears, let the diadem fall, and would not comply, whatever instances were made to him. Thus (b), which is next to incredible, the person who resigned a crown was full of joy, and he upon whose head it was placed, was much afflicted. What a decent

(a) *Usher refers this fact to the following year, and Pompey's residence in the city of Amisus.* veritatis excedit, lætus erat, qui regnum deponebat; tristis, cui dabatur. *Val. Max.* V. 7.

(b) *Quodque penè fidem*

A.R. 686 dispute was this! and who can forbear being  
 Ant.C.65. moved and charmed only with the relation of  
 it? Pompey was obliged to interpose his au-  
 thority for terminating so singular a contest.  
 He confirmed the father's resolution, and or-  
 dered the son to obey. This is the \* second  
 time, that Cappadocia has furnished us with so  
 fine an example.

\* See  
 Anc Hist  
 Vol. IX.

## S E C T. II.

*Pompey advances towards mount Caucasus, and  
 defeats the Albanians. He also defeats the  
 Iberians. Being arrived at the mouth of the  
 Phasis, he returns the same way he came thro'  
 Albania. He gains a new victory over the  
 Albanians. It was falsely said, that there  
 were amazons in this battle. Pompey avoids  
 entering into a war with the Parthians. Wis-  
 dom and temperance of Pompey. Stratonice,  
 mother of Xiphares, surrenders a castle in her  
 keeping to Pompey. Adventure of Stratonice's  
 father. Pompey's generosity. Collection of  
 observations upon medicine made by that prince's  
 order. Pompey's regulation in respect to the  
 dominions taken from Mithridates. Pompey  
 goes to Syria. Actual state of that kingdom.  
 Pompey reduces it into a Roman province.  
 Kings of Commagena. Mithridates on his  
 arrival at the Bosphorus causes his son Ma-  
 chabes to be killed. Odd kind of justice of  
 Mithridates. He causes Xiphares to be mur-  
 dered. He sends an embassy to Pompey with-  
 out effect. New preparations of Mithridates.  
 He conceives thoughts of marching to Italy by  
 land. Murmurs of his troops. Pharnaces  
 excites them to take arms against his father.*  
 The

*The revolt becomes general. Mithridates is besieged in the castle of Panticapeum. He makes imprecations against Pharnaces. His death. Judgment concerning his character and merit. Pompey is informed of the death of Mithridates in the plains of Jericho. Thanksgivings to the gods at Rome. Pompey secures the tranquillity of Syria. Troubles in Judæa on the occasion of the succession to the throne between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. Pompey, favourable to Hyrcanus, and offended at Aristobulus, marches against Jerusalem. He seized the city, and besieges the temple. Taking of the temple. Religious constancy of the Jewish priests. Pompey enters the Sanctum Sanctorum. Generous conduct of Pompey. Riches and insolence of Demetrius his freedman. Excessive indulgence of Pompey in respect to those he loved. He comes to Amisus, where he receives the body of Mithridates. He confirms the possession of the kingdom of the Bosphorus to Pharnaces. His return. His particular regard for the philosopher Posidonius. He is informed of the bad conduct of his wife Mucia, and repudiates her. His marriages.*

**P**OMPEY having thus regulated all the affairs of the countries in the midst of which he was, thought of pursuing Mithridates ; and leaving Armenia, he advanced towards mount Caucasus, and prepared to cross the whole region situated between the Euxine sea on the west, and the Caspian sea on the east. He found some obstacles, especially from two powerful and warlike nations, the Albanians and Iberians, and no less vigilance was necessary for guarding against their stratagems and perfidy,

A R. 686.

Ant. C. 66.

*Pompey advances towards mount Caucasus, and defeats the Albanians.*

Plot. &amp;

Dio.,



A.R. 636. perfidy, than for fighting their troops, which  
 Ant. C 66. were considerable. He first defeated forty thousand Albanians near the river Cyrus in a pitched battle. That victory was gained by the Romans during the days *Saturnalia*, that is, about the middle (a) of December. Pompey was very glad, that Oreses king of the Albanians asked peace of him, and he granted it willingly, in order that his troops might enjoy some repose during the winter.

A.R. 637.  
 Ant. C 65.

L. AURELIUS COTTA.

L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

*He also* As soon as it was possible to take the field,  
*defeats the* Pompey began his march to enter into the  
*Iberians.* country of the Iberians, a people jealous of their liberty, and who never had been subjected to any foreign sway. They had obeyed neither the Medes nor the Persians; and not being upon Alexander's rout, they had escaped that conqueror. Besides which, they were inclined by affection to Mithridates, and were not satisfied to see an army in their country, that was come from the extremities of the west, and had subjected all their neighbours. Their king Artoces acted like a prince who had neither capacity nor faith. His natural inclination inclined him to hate the Romans, and to make war with them: but he was restrained by fear. As sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, of those impressions prevailed, he offered them passage, and then refused it. At length

(a) The year of the Romans was at that time much out of order, and when they called the month December, they should have reckoned more properly part of September and October.



it was necessary to come to a battle, in which A.R. 687.  
 nine thousand Iberians remained upon the place, Ant.C.65.  
 and ten thousand were taken prisoners. Arto-  
 ces then desired peace in earnest, and obtained  
 it, but by giving his sons for hostages.

From thence Pompey marched into Colchis, *Being ar-*  
 and arrived at the mouth of the Phasis, where *rived at*  
 he found a fleet commanded by Servilius, one *the mouth*  
 of his lieutenants. But the farther the Ro- *of the Pha-*  
 mans advanced into these wild countries, the *sis he re-*  
 less possible it seemed to join Mithridates, who *turns back*  
 was far before them, and actually gained the *Albania.*  
 Bosphorus through the countries, that are on  
 the north of the Euxine sea. Hence it is pre-  
 sumed, that Pompey was not sorry to have so  
 specious a pretext for returning back, as that  
 which the revolt of the Albanians supplied,  
 who since he had quitted their country, had  
 taken up arms again. He contented himself  
 therefore with ordering Servilius to shut up the  
 Bosphorus so entirely, that Mithridates could  
 neither quit it, nor receive any provisions, by  
 sea : and as for him he returned into Alba-  
 nia.

He had the Cyrus to repass : and the Bar- *He gains a*  
 barians, at the place where the passage was *new vic-*  
 most commodious, had planted stakes from *tory over*  
 space to space, which rendered it impracticable. *the Alba-*  
 He therefore chose to seek another ford, by *nians.*  
 marching along the winding banks of the  
 river ; and as the water was every where rapid  
 and abundant, to break it's force, he placed a  
 line of cavalry across the river against the  
 current, and below that a second line, formed  
 by the carriages, and beasts of burthen that car-  
 ried the baggage. The infantry passed below,  
 covered in some measure by this double kind  
 of

A R. 687. of dike ; after which he was obliged to cross  
 Ant.C. 65. a dry country without water. He provided  
 for that inconvenience, by causing ten thousand  
 skins or borachios to be filled with water,  
 which were carried in the rear of the army.  
 In this manner he arrived at the enemy.  
 They were incamped near a river, which Plutarch  
 and Dio call Abas, to the number of above  
 sixty thousand foot, and two thousand  
 horse, but badly armed, and most of them covered  
 only with skins of beasts. Cosis the  
 king's brother commanded them.

The battle soon came on, and Cosis, who  
 was courageous, kept close to Pompey, and  
 gave him occasion to exert his personal bravery,  
 at the same time that he was performing  
 the functions of general ; for the Albanian  
 having discharged a javelin at him, that grazed  
 upon his cuirass, Pompey, either more dexterous  
 or more fortunate, pierced his enemy with his  
 lance, and laid him dead that instant. The  
 Barbarians having lost their leader, did not  
 stand their ground long. They retreated in a  
 great body to a forest, which Pompey caused to  
 be set on fire, after having surrounded it with  
 his soldiers, so that those who escaped the flames,  
 perished by the sword.

*It has been  
 falsely  
 said, that  
 there were  
 amazons  
 in this  
 battle.* On the occasion of this battle a fable spread,  
 which soothed the vanity of the victors. It  
 was said there were amazons in it. But  
 Plutarch observes, that there were only found  
 amongst the spoils such little bucklers and  
 buskins, as are said to be used by those female  
 warriors, without any woman being seen either  
 amongst the prisoners or the dead. He  
 however does not treat what is said of the amazons

mazons as a fable; and he assigns them an habitation in the regions of mount Caucasus towards the coast of the Caspian sea. A. R. 687.  
Ant. C. 65.

Pompey designed to have penetrated quite to that sea, and thought it for his glory to do so; but the great numbers of serpents and venomous creatures, with which the country abounded, obliged him to march back, when he had but a rout of three days farther to make. He accordingly returned into Armenia Minor. He received there Ambassadors from the Kings of the Medes and Elymæans, whom he answered graciously.

There were more difficulties to adjust between him and Phraates. That Prince complained of Pompey's Lieutenants, who gave him umbrage by advancing too near his frontiers. Gabinius himself had passed the Euphrates, and advanced as far as the Tigris. Besides which Phraates had ancient differences with Tigranes, and would gladly have taken the advantage of the King of Armenia's weakness, for reviving former pretensions. In particular he revived his claim to Gordyena, and had entered it in arms; but he did not venture to defend that country against Afranius sent by Pompey, who having made himself master of it in this manner, restored it to Tigranes. *Pompey avoids entering into a war with the Parthians.*

Phraates and Pompey were afraid of each other, Phraates saw his neighbours too severely handled by the Romans, to think of exposing himself to the like disgraces; and Pompey by no means desired to engage in a new war in countries unknown, and with nations who fought in a manner to which his troops

A.R. 687. were not accustomed. All he wanted was to  
 An: C. 65. extricate himself honourably out of the affair, and without impeaching the Majesty of the Roman name. Accordingly without giving ear to the complaints either of Tigranes, who demanded aid of him, or to the exhortations of his friends, who considered nothing but the glory and gains of a new war, he refused to declare against Phraates, and contented to mortify his pride, by denying him the title of *King of Kings*, of which he was very jealous: for the rest he acted as arbiter and mediator between him and Tigranes, and dispatched three Commissioners to terminate their differences upon the spot, and to settle the limits of the two kingdoms.

The mediation of the Romans seems to have been little necessary. Tigranes and Phraates only desired to be reconciled. The first was dissatisfied with not having been aided by Pompey; the other, considering every thing, was assured, that it was for his advantage Tigranes should subsist, because he might find an ally in him, in case the Romans should at any time attack the Parthians; whereas by entering into a war, it was to be feared, that after they might have exhausted their forces against each other, the victor and vanquished might both become the prey of the Romans. Thus every thing made way for peace, and tranquillity was entirely reinstated on that side.

These last events are to be referred to the year, in which L. Cæsar and Figulus were Consuls.

L. JULIUS



L. JULIUS CÆSAR.

A R. 688.

C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.

Ant.C.64.

Pompey marched into Armenia the last months of the year of which we have been speaking, and the first of that, of which we are now beginning to relate the events. He was principally occupied in taking the advantages of the victory he had gained over Mithridates. On all sides the castles and treasures of that Prince were delivered up to him. In particular a great number of his wives and concubines were taken. He treated them all with respect; and without suffering himself to be dazzled by the beauty of any of them, he sent them home to their fathers and relations; for most of them belonged either to Princes or Generals of armies.

Stratonice, one of them, was of mean birth, the daughter of a Musician, whose story Plutarch has thought worthy of a particular relation. This Stratonice, being very young, sang at a feast of Mithridates's in a manner that charmed him. He immediately had her placed amongst his concubines, and the father retired home much dissatisfied with not having been honoured with the least notice. But the next morning he was strangely surprized to see in his chamber tables covered with vessels of gold and silver, a numerous train of domesticks, eunuchs, and slaves, who presented him with fine and magnificent habits, and at his door an horse with superb furniture, like those of the Lords, called the King's Friends. He believed, they ridiculed him, and was for running away. But the slaves having stopt him; and

*Prudence  
and re-  
serve of  
Pompey.,  
Plut.*

*Strato-  
nice, mo-  
ther of  
Xiphares,  
surrenders  
a castle to  
Pompey, of  
which she  
was go-  
verness.  
Adventure  
of the fa-  
ther of  
Strato-  
nice.*

A R. 635 telling him that these things were the King's  
 Ant.C.64 presents, who had bestowed upon him the whole  
 estate of a very rich man lately dead, and that  
 this was but a slight earnest of the gifts he had  
 room to expect, it was not without great dif-  
 ficulty that he suffered himself to be convinced.  
 However, at last he put on the purple, mount-  
 ed on horseback, followed by his train, and  
 as he crossed the city, he bawled out aloud in  
 the streets, *All this is mine*. This drew upon  
 him much ridicule, to which he replied, “ that  
 “ if they were surprized at any thing, it should  
 “ be, that he did not throw stones at all, who  
 “ passed by, in the excess of joy that put him  
 “ out of his wits.” Freinshemius relates this  
 fact after Plutarch, and adds a reflexion, that  
 I cannot resolve to omit. “ Behold cries he (a),  
 “ what riches are, and their effects? They  
 “ are often the sport of mankind; but more  
 “ frequently make men their sport, by trans-  
 “ forming them into fools and madmen.” But  
 what shall we say of a father, who glories in the  
 dishonour and infamy of his daughter, and has  
 no other sentiments on such an occasion of grief  
 and shame, but foolish joy and frantick tri-  
 umph?

*Generosity*  
*of Pompey.* Stratonice was highly affected by Mithridates,  
 by whom she had a son, whose name, Xiphares,  
 has been not a little celebrated by the Moderns.  
 She had the keeping of one of the strongest and  
 richest forts of Armenia. She surrendered it  
 to Pompey, without demanding any other con-  
 dition, than the life of her son, in case he should  
 fall into the hands of the Romans. Pompey

(a) Hoc sunt & possunt divitiæ; hisque interdum modis  
 illudentur & illudunt! *Suppl. Liv. CII. 5.*

when master of all the riches kept in this castle, A R. 688.  
 made a generous use of them: he only took Ant C. 64.  
 what might adorn the temples, and add to the  
 splendor of his triumph, and left Stratonice the  
 rest. He shewed the same greatness of mind,  
 in respect to a magnificent present made him  
 by the King of the Iberians. That Prince  
 having sent him a bed, a table, and a throne  
 of gold, Pompey caused the whole to be de-  
 livered to the quæstor for the public trea-  
 sury.

In a fort which Mithridates had built with Secret me-  
 moirs of  
 Mithri-  
 dates.  
 great care, and laboured to render impregnable,  
 Pompey found the secret memoirs of that  
 Prince; and he read them over with pleasure,  
 because they made him better acquainted with  
 the character of the person he had conquered.  
 He found in them, that Mithridates had caused  
 great numbers of persons to be poisoned, a-  
 mongst others Ariarathes one of his sons, and  
 Alcæus of Sardes, who in a horse-race had been  
 so unfortunate to carry the prize against him.  
 He also found interpretations of many dreams,  
 either of the King's own, or his wives: So apt  
 are men even of the highest rank and greatest  
 knowledge (Mithridates himself was very  
 learned) to entertain such idle chimeras. In  
 the same place were also kept the loose letters  
 from Monima to Mithridates and from Mi-  
 thridates to Monima. It was by this means Theo-  
 phanes said, that the pretended discourse of Ru-  
 tilius to Mithridates, to persuade him to mas-  
 sacre the Romans, had been discovered. But Collection  
 of obser-  
 vations  
 upon phy-  
 sick, made  
 by order of  
 that  
 Prince.  
 we have observed elsewhere what we ought to  
 think of that imposture.

Amongst so many papers and writings, which  
 certainly do Mithridates no great honour, some  
 were



A.R. 683. were found of a very different kind. That Prince  
 Ant C.64 was curious and even skilful in medicine; and  
 every body knows, that he gave his name to a  
 kind of antidote famous in the ancient world,  
 and which still retains some reputation. In con-  
 sequence he had collected observations upon all  
 that relates to that science, the virtues of medi-  
 cines, and the manner of using them, from  
 all the provinces of his dominions, which  
 during a time included a great part of the  
 universe. This collection seemed so precious an  
 acquisition to Pompey, that he thought it in-  
 cumbent upon him to impart it to his country;  
 and he caused it to be translated by one of his  
 freedmen. Thus, (a) says Pliny from whom we  
 have this fact, Pompey's victory over Mithrida-  
 tes was no less useful to human race, than to the  
 Roman Commonwealth.

*Regula-  
 tion: of  
 Pompey in  
 respect to  
 the domi-  
 nions, of  
 Asia. b  
 Mithrida-  
 tes had  
 been de-  
 prived.  
 Plut.*

Pompey came afterwards to Amisus, where  
 he had fixed the rendezvous for the Kings, and  
 deputies of the states, of Asia, whose fate he  
 was going to regulate. Twelve Barbarian Kings  
 were at it, and a much greater number of  
 Princes and Ambassadors. There, as if Pom-  
 pey had designed to console Lucullus, and to  
 give him his revenge, he fell into the same  
 ridicule, with which he had reproached him.  
 He had railed at that General immoderately,  
 for having acted as Conqueror, before he was  
 sure of the victory, and whilst his enemies had  
 still considerable forces. He did the same  
 himself; and whilst Mithridates was not only  
 alive, but assembling numerous troops in the  
 Bosphorus, Pompey was distributing his spoils.

(a) Viræque ita profuit non minùs, quàm reipublicæ,  
 victoria illa. *Plin* XXV. 2.

He



He reduced Pontus into the form of a Roman province: He gave Armenia Minor to Deiotarus, Tetrarch of the Gallo-Grecians, and faithful ally of the Romans. He also made several other regulations, of less importance with respect to the sequel of our History. But I must not omit, that he settled Archelaus, the son of that Archelaus, who had been overcome by Sylla, and afterwards went over to the Romans, priest of Bellona at Comana. This was a very great dignity; to which a vast revenue was annexed. The Pontif of Comana, whilst the kingdom of Pontus had subsisted, was the second person in the state. He had even the right to wear the diadem on solemn festivals. All the districts round about were subject to him; and Pompey, in favour of Archelaus, added two leagues round of the country adjacent, to the ancient lands dependent upon the priesthood. For the rest, though Bellona be a goddess of war, the licentiousness, essential to the Pagan worship, had made a perfect Venus of her. The whole city was full of courtezans, most of whom were consecrated to the Goddess. There was another city of Comana in Cappadocia, of which that of Pontus was a kind of colony; all that was done in the latter, in respect to the worship of Bellona, was in imitation of it's Metropolitan.

Pompey, who was in the city of Amisus, situated over against the Bosphorus, from which it is separated by the breadth of the Euxine Sea should, one would think, have thought of going to attack Mithridates in his asylum. He did not do so, and on the contrary turned towards Syria. He said, that he left the King of Pontus a more formidable enemy than Pom-

A.R. 683.  
Ant.C.64.  
Eutrop.  
L. VI.

Strabo, L.  
XII. p  
557, 558.

Pompey  
goes to Sy-  
ria.  
Plut.

A. R. 683. *pey*; this was famine. He gave new orders  
 Ant. C. 64. for keeping a strict guard round the Bosphorus,  
 to prevent provisions from being carried thi-  
 ther, under pain of death to all who should  
 contravene. As to him, a project, more  
 soothing to his vain and pompous ambition,  
 drew him towards the South. He was desirous  
 to augment the Roman Empire with Syria,  
 which at that time was in a manner vacant;  
 and he proposed to push his conquests quite to  
 the Red Sea, that it might be said, that on all  
 sides, and under the most remote climates, he  
 had penetrated as far as the Ocean, in Africa,  
 Spain, and now on the coast of the East, not to  
 mention the Caspian Sea, to which he had ap-  
 proached, as we have said, within the distance  
 of only three days march.

He therefore began his march for Syria;  
 and crossing Pontus, arrived at the city of  
 Zela or Ziela, near which Triarius had been  
 defeated by Mithridates. He found the dead  
 bodies of the Romans still lying unburied upon  
 the earth. He caused the last honours to be  
 paid them with magnificence, and thereby  
 made Lucullus appear still more in the wrong,  
 who had neglected that duty, though it was  
 more his obligation. That omission had very  
 much conduced to disgust and exasperate the  
 soldiers of Lucullus against him. In other re-  
 spects Pompey's march had nothing of memo-  
 rable in it. All the countries, through which  
 he passed on his rout to Syria, were either sub-  
 jected, or allies.

*Appian.*

*State of the  
kingdom.*

*Justin xl.*

*Appian.*

*Mithrid.*

*& Dio*

Syria, in consequence of the divisions and wars  
 between the Princes of the house of the Seleucidæ,  
 had been torn in pieces and rendered desolate  
 during a great length of time. The reader may  
 see

see in the *Ancient History* the particulars of what that unhappy kingdom had suffered. None of those Princes was powerful enough to defend it, and all ravaged it. At length the Syrians, tired with such repeated disorders and calamities, threw themselves into the arms of Tigranes, who reigned in Syria during eighteen years. Lucullus drove him out of it; and Antiochus Asiaticus, having presented himself to the Victor as legitimate heir of the throne of the Seleucidæ, Lucullus acknowledged his rights, and permitted him to enjoy them. But to have obtained either favour or justice of Lucullus, was a title to ill-treatment from Pompey.

When therefore the latter was in Syria, Antiochus alledged in vain the ancient possession of his ancestors; Pompey answered him, “that he himself had renounced his rights, when keeping himself concealed in a corner of Cilicia, he had left Tigranes during eighteen years in the quiet possession of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ. That as for him, he should not have expected him, had he found him upon the throne; but that the Romans had not conquered Tigranes, for Antiochus to reap the fruit of their victory. That Syria was their conquest; made by them over an enemy whom they had found in possession of it.” These reasons were specious. But the force of the argument lay in Pompey’s being the strongest. Accordingly Syria was reduced into a Roman province.

Many of the learned relate, that Pompey, to console Asiaticus gave him the kingdom of Commagena, and that the Kings of that country,

*Pompey reduces it into a Roman province.*

*Kings of Commagena.*

A R. 688. country, who appear in history down to the time  
 Ant.C.64. of Vespasian, were descended from him, and  
 consequently from the race of Seleucidæ. This  
 opinion is very probable, though perhaps it  
 admits of some difficulty.

It was during Pompey's residence in Syria,  
 that the differences between Tigranes and Phra-  
 tes were made up, and peace established between  
 the Parthians and Romans.

A.R. 689.  
 Ant.C.63.

M. TULLIUS CICERO.

C. ANTONIUS.

Pompey continuing to pursue his project,  
 entirely reinstated the peace of Syria, entered into  
 a war against Aretas King of part of Arabia,  
 took cognizance of the division between Hyr-  
 canus and Aristobulus, who disputed the king-  
 dom of Judæa, and seemed to have forgot  
 Mithridates. His good fortune without him  
 compleated what he had left undone; and  
 death at length delivered the Romans from an  
 implacable enemy, who would never have left  
 them in peace during his life. I proceed to  
 relate this event, going back a little as the  
 facts require.

*Mithrida-  
 tes being  
 arrived at  
 the Bospho-  
 rus, causes  
 his son Ma-  
 chares to  
 be killed.*

Dio.

L. xxxvi.

Appian.

Mithrid.

Mithridates having overcome all the obsta-  
 cles, that opposed his flight, had arrived at the  
 Bosphorus. His son Machares, who reigned  
 in that country, trembled at his approach.  
 He had some years before entered into a trea-  
 chy with Lucullus, who had acknowledged him  
 King, and friend and ally of the Romans.  
 This was an offence which he had no hope  
 that his father would pardon. He knew his  
 inexorable resentment, and had learnt from  
 more than one example, that the blood of his  
 sons



sons cost him nothing, especially when his A. R. 689.  
own security was in question. In consequence, Ant. C. 63.  
though he had sent some of his friends to  
meet Mithridates with excuses, and to endea-  
vour to mollify him, he did not dare to wait  
his coming; and when he was apprized, that  
he was not far off, he passed the strait, and  
arrived in the Taurica Chersonesus; having  
even taken the precaution to burn the ships,  
which it was not in his power to carry off,  
that his father might not have the means of  
following him. He however could not escape  
the vengeance of Mithridates. Some of those  
about him, were gained by the hopes of im-  
punity and reward. Machares was killed by  
them, or, according to Appian, seeing him-  
self betrayed, he killed himself. Mithridates, *Odd kind*  
through an odd notion of justice, pardoned *of justice*  
none of those, whom he had placed about *of Mithri-*  
his son; but forgave such as the young Prince *dates.*  
himself had taken into his service; saying  
that the latter were under no obligations  
to him, as he had not given them their  
offices.

His life has another circumstance in it of a Appian.  
nature not much unlike this. A Roman Se- Mithrid.  
nator, called Acilius, who being banished, had P. 233.  
retired to Mithridates, and even been ad-  
mitted to some share in his confidence, having  
conspired against his person, was put to death,  
with his accomplices; with this difference  
however, that the Prince, in regard to his qua-  
lity as Senator, spared him the tortures. But  
his freedmen, though they had been in the  
plot, were exempt from the punishment; and  
Mithridates declared that he did not think it  
proper

A. R. 689. proper to punish them for having obeyed their  
Ant. C. 63 patron.

*History* After the death of Machares, the King of  
*Mithridates* Pontus crossed over to the Chersonesus, and  
*Ant. C. 63* having made himself master there of the fort  
of Panticapeum, situated exactly in the strait,  
he there committed a new parricide, much more  
inexcusable than the former. For to be revenged  
on Stratonice, who, as I have said, had delivered  
up the castle to Pompey full of all kinds of  
riches, he caused the son he had by her to  
be put to death, the same whose life she had  
been desirous to secure by conciliating the  
amity of the Romans. Xiphaxes was nur-  
thered upon the shore even in the sight of his  
mother, who, as Appian relates, was on the  
other side of the strait.

*He sends* At the same time he dispatched ambaf-  
*an ambaf-* sadors to Pompey, to offer to pay tribute to  
*to Pom* the Romans, if they would reinstate him in the  
*pen to no* kingdom of his ancestors. Pompey replied,  
*eff. 2.* that Mithridates must come in person to make  
his submission as Tigranes had done. The  
fugitive Prince did not deliberate a moment  
upon the proposal made to him of such a  
meanness. *That, said he, is what Mithridates*  
*will never be reduced to. But I could send some*  
*of my children, and the principal persons of my*  
*court.* This negotiation had no effect, and  
Mithridates continued his preparations for re-  
newing the war.

*New pre-* He raised abundance of men, without di-  
*parations* stinction of free or slaves. He caused arms and  
*of Mithri-* machines to be made: that he might not want  
*dates.* materials, he caused even the fruit trees to be  
cut down, and the oxen used for tilling the  
ground to be killed, because the sinews of  
those

those animals were necessary for the machines A.R. 689.  
 and bows. He levied also very heavy sums of Ant.C.63.  
 money upon the people, who already terrified,  
 and almost destroyed by the most horrible  
 earthquake, that ever was, and besides oppres-  
 sed and crushed by their sovereign, changed the  
 respect and zeal they had retained for him, even  
 in his ill fortune, into indignation and hatred.  
 The violences and vexations committed by the  
 officers charged with the execution of the  
 Prince's orders, exasperated them most. And  
 Mithridates was not in a condition to remedy  
 those injustices ; because being sick at that time,  
 and having his face covered all over with break-  
 ings out, he shut himself up in his palace  
 with three eunuchs, who tended him, and  
 were the only persons admitted to see him.  
 However, during that time considerable forces  
 continued raising for him ; sixty cohorts of  
 six hundred men each, all chosen troops ;  
 besides a great multitude of other soldiers, in  
 whom less confidence was placed. He had  
 also ships ; and his generals had reduced many  
 posts and castles in the neighbourhood of the  
 Bosphorus.

When he was capable of acting and mana- *He forms*  
 ging his affairs in person, he sent troops to *some enter-*  
 Phanagorea, a place situated upon the east *prizes*  
 side of the strait, in order to be absolute ma- *that do not*  
 ster of the canal, which he commanded him- *succeed.*  
 self on the west side by the fort of Pantica-  
 peum. Castor, a man of obscure birth, who  
 governed in Phanagorea, broke the measures  
 of Mithridates. He had formerly been perso-  
 nally injured by the eunuch Tryphon. In  
 consequence, on seeing that eunuch arrive  
 with the King's troops, he killed him, made  
 the

A R. 689. the inhabitants take arms, and exhorted them  
 Ant.C.63. to resume their liberty. The whole city rose;  
 and only the citadel, in which were several of  
 the children of Mithridates, and amongst the  
 rest Artaphernes, above forty years old, made  
 some resistance. But as the revolted people  
 prepared to set it on fire, and had already  
 heaped up and kindled wood round about  
 it, the courage of Artaphernes soon failed,  
 and he surrendered himself prisoner with three  
 of his brothers, Darius, Xerxes, and Oxathres,  
 with one sister called Eupatra, all four under  
 age. Cleopatra, a daughter worthy of Mithri-  
 dates, though abandoned by her brother, held  
 out against the rebels, and gave her father  
 time to send her ships to carry her to Pan-  
 ticapeum. Castor delivered up his prisoners to  
 the Romans.

The example of Phanagorea was followed  
 by several of the neighbouring places; and  
 Mithridates, who saw treasons multiply around  
 him, was desirous to secure the amity of the  
 Scythian Kings, by giving them some of his  
 daughters in marriage, with great presents for  
 obtaining troops from them. But the escort  
 of soldiers sent with the Princesses, killed the  
 eunuchs, in whose care they were, and deli-  
 vered them into the hands of the Romans.  
 Besides, that misfortune is apt to induce infide-  
 lity, the military people could not bear the con-  
 fidence which Mithridates reposed in the eunuchs,  
 and the authority he gave them, without in-  
 dignation.

*He is re-  
 ceived  
 thoughts of  
 marching  
 to Italy.  
 Plut. in  
 Pomp.  
 Dio.  
 l. xxxvii.  
 Appian.*

Every thing gave way around Mithridates;  
 and he never expressed more spirit. It was  
 then, that he conceived serious thoughts of  
 executing a design, which he had long revol-  
 ved



ved in mind : this was, to penetrate into Italy A.R. 689.  
by land ; first gaining the Danube through Ant.C.63.  
the Scythian nations, who inhabited the countries from the Palus Mæotis to that great river ; afterwards to cross Thrace, and lastly Illyricum, which would bring him to the foot of the Alps. This scheme is terrible, whether it be considered in respect to the immense length of a march of five or six hundred leagues ; the difficulties, that could not but occur from the passes of rivers, mountains, defiles, and forests ; the necessity of fighting so many fierce nations, who could not see with unconcern, a numerous army under a King of so great a name enter their territories ; or lastly, the design of the enterprize, which was to attack the Romans in the center of their empire and forces. Accordingly, as long as the situation of affairs in Asia left Mithridates any hopes, he did not think of realizing this scheme. But in the desperate situation, to which he now found himself reduced, it was his only resource, as he determined to die like a King, rather than to live in disgrace and misery. Besides which he was in hopes, that most of the obstacles, which seemed dreadful in the design would vanish in the execution. There were abundance of Gaulish nations settled round the Danube, and the rivers that fall into it. Mithridates had for a great while kept up a good correspondence with those states ; and he expected not only to find no opposition from them, but to have them for allies ; and that they would augment his army with supplies of troops. The example of Hannibal, whom he had always admired, exalted his courage, and the more

A.R. 689. as the conjunctures seemed much more favour-  
 Ant.C. 63. able to him, than they had been to the Cartha-  
 genian General. The flames of the war with  
 the allies still but badly extinguished; Spartacus,  
 a poor gladiator, who had drawn together in  
 Italy itself sufficient forces to make Rome  
 tremble; these were things that encouraged him  
 to hope, that when he should appear in the  
 country at the head of a formidable army,  
 the people would vye with each other in join-  
 ing him.

*Murmurs  
 of his  
 troops.*

Such were the thoughts that employed Mi-  
 thridates; but his soldiers had very different  
 sentiments. The idea alone of an enterprize so  
 strange and vast terrified them. *And, said they,  
 though we should be able to compleat so long  
 and laborious a march, through ten thousand fa-  
 tiques and dangers, what advantages could we  
 expect from it? We have not been able to sustain  
 the Roman arms in our own country; and how  
 shall we conquer them in the heart of their em-  
 pire? This is a resolution of despair. The King  
 seeks only an honourable death, and not the suc-  
 cess of a design, of which he knows the impossibi-  
 lity. However, notwithstanding all their re-  
 pugnance, fear and respect kept them within  
 the bounds of their duty, and prevented them  
 from breaking out.*

*Pharnaces  
 makes them  
 revolt a-  
 gainst his  
 father.*

A son of this unfortunate Monarch animated  
 some troops, who continued obedient, to re-  
 volt. Pharnaces, whom Mithridates had always  
 distinguished above the rest of his children,  
 and whom he had often declared he intended  
 for his successor, conspired against his father,  
 and resolved to deprive him both of crown and  
 life. Ambition and fear concurred in making  
 him form that fatal design. Mithridates, ir-  
 ritated

fitated by his misfortunes, and by the many treacheries, which he experienced on all sides, was become more cruel than ever. The recent death of Xiphares, when he had nothing to reproach but his mother's treason, was a new circumstance highly capable of intimidating Pharnaces. Besides which, that Prince desired to preserve at least the wrecks of his father's fortune; and he foresaw, that the scheme of marching to Italy, if began to be put in execution, would probably occasion his losing all, by rendering the Romans irreconcilable to the whole house of Mithridates. He therefore resolved, in order to merit their favour, to commit an horrid parricide, and he at first secretly engaged some malecontents to enter into his views and interests.

Mithridates was informed of this plot; for he had spies about his son, who watched all that Prince's motions; and he immediately sent some of his guards to seize him. But, according to the remark of an historion (*a*), that King, so great in other respects, and so versed in the arts of government, did not know, that arms, and the multitude of subjects, are of no use to him who has not taken care to merit their affection; and that, on the contrary, the stronger he is in troops, the more reason he has to fear, if they are not faithful. Those whom he had sent to seize Pharnaces, suffered themselves to be brought over; and the Prince having made them join the first conspirators,

(*a*) Καί τοι σοφώτατος ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐς πάντα βασιλικὰ γευόμενος, ἔκ' ἔγνω ὅτι ἐδενὶ ἐδέν' ἔτε τὰ ὄπλα, ἔτε τὰ πλήθη τ' ὑπηκόων, ὅν' οὐ τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν φιλίας ἰσχύει. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσω τὰ ἀνπλειω, μὴ μεντοὶ καὶ πιστὰ ἀδ' αὖ, ἔχη, χάλεπώτερα ἀσπ' αὖ γινεταί. *Dio. L. xxxvii.*



A.R. 699. went first to solicit the Roman deserters, who  
 Ant.C. 63. formed a body of troops, that were nearest to  
 Mithridates, though incamped without the walls  
 of Panticapeum. He represented to them the  
 particular and personal dangers, to which they  
 were exposed, if they were made to march to  
 Italy. He promised them all kinds of favour  
 and advantages, if they would adhere to him.  
 The deserters easily gave ear to these proposals,  
 and declared for Pharnaces. He found no  
 greater difficulty in bringing over the other  
 camps, dispersed around Panticapeum; and at  
 the head of all this multitude of rebels, he pre-  
 sented himself before the place at day-break.

*The revolt  
 becomes  
 general.*

As soon as the signal had been given by the  
 cries raised by the deserters, the revolt in an  
 instant became general. Even those, who 'till  
 then had known nothing of the plot, were  
 drawn in by example. Contempt for an unfor-  
 tunate King, the hope of seeing their condition  
 change under a new government, and in some  
 the fear of being singular, in case they persevered  
 in an useless resistance; all these motives had so  
 immediate an effect both upon the land and sea  
 forces, that Mithridates saw himself abandoned  
 by all, except those, who were with him in  
 the city. The city itself soon after followed  
 the rest. Some officers, whom he had detached  
 to inquire into the cause of the tumult, he heard,  
 having gone over with their soldiers to Phar-  
 naces, the inhabitants opened the gates to him:  
 so that the King was reduced to shut himself  
 up in the citadel.

*Mithrida-  
 tes is be-  
 sieged in  
 the citadel  
 of Panti-  
 capeum.*

From thence he sent to ask the mutineers,  
 what their demands were. They answered  
 with extreme insolence, "they demanded,  
 " that Pharnaces should reign: That they  
 " wanted



“ wanted a young King, and not an old man A.R. 689.  
 “ governed by eunuchs, who made known Ant. C. 63.  
 “ his power only by cruelties to his friends,  
 “ generals, and children.” Mithridates tried  
 another method, and advanced in person to  
 speak to the rebels. But the soldiers, who at-  
 tended him, followed the stream, and offered  
 their services to the adverse party. The deser-  
 ters, who were always in the front, haughty  
 from their numbers and strength, declared to  
 them, that they would not receive them, ex-  
 cept they shewed their zeal by some distinguish-  
 ed proof; and at the same time they pointed  
 to Mithridates. That unhappy Prince, in so  
 great an extremity, had no other choice, than  
 to fly into the fort, which he did not enter  
 without great difficulty, having had his horse  
 killed under him. At the same moment the  
 whole multitude of the revolted proclaimed  
 Pharnaces King; and for want of a diadem,  
 somebody having taken a large fillet of Egyp-  
 tian paper out of a neighbouring temple, they  
 bound it about his head.

The wretched Mithridates saw all that passed He makes  
 from the top of a tower. He sent many of impreca-  
 those about him continually to Pharnaces to tions a-  
 ask his life, and permission to retire in safety. gainst  
 And as none of them returned, finding himself Pharna-  
 reduced to the necessity of dying, he cried ces.  
 out, *Ob! ye Gods, the avengers of fathers, if it* Oros. vi.  
*be true, that ye exist, and that there be justice* 5.  
*in heaven, grant that Pharnaces in his turn*  
*may bear his sentence of death pronounced by*  
*his children.*

Then having called such of his officers and His death.  
 guards, as had hitherto continued faithful to Dio. Ap-  
 him, he praised their generosity, and ordered pian.

A R. 689. them to repair to the new King. As for him,  
 Ant C. 63. he went down into the apartment where his  
 wives and daughters were, caused poison to be  
 got ready, gave it them, and prepared to take  
 it himself. Two of his daughters, Mithridatis  
 and Nyssa, who were to be married to the two  
 Ptolomies, the one king of Egypt, and the  
 other king of Cyprus, desired to have the con-  
 solation of dying before their father, and made  
 haste to drink the poison. They expired pre-  
 sently. But the precaution Mithridates had  
 used from his earliest youth of taking antidotes,  
 prevented, or at least deadened, the effect of  
 the dose he had taken; so that he was obliged  
 to have recourse to his sword, with which he  
 stabbed himself. The wound was slight. His  
 hand was weak both in effect of age, and the  
 poison he had just taken. He was therefore in  
**danger** of missing the death he sought, when  
 he saw a Gaulish officer enter, called Bituitus,  
 who at the head of a troop of soldiers had forced  
 the walls of the castle. *Brave soldier*, said  
 Mithridates to him, *You did me great services at  
 the time you fought under me. You will do me a  
 greater now, if you will put an end to my life,  
 and thereby preserve me from the shame of falling  
 alive into the hands of the Romans, and of being  
 led by them in triumph.* Bituitus obeyed, and  
 those who were with him, gave Mithridates  
 also several wounds with their swords and  
 lances. A deplorable death for so great a King,  
 and still much more unhappy, because a son  
 had ordered it. The divine justice made use  
 of the guilt of Pharnaces, to begin the punish-  
 ment of the **cruelties** Mithridates had commit-  
 ted in this life; and the parricide acted upon  
 himself

himself avenged in particular that he had per- A.R. 689.  
petrated upon his mother. Ant.C. 63.

That Prince has been much praised. Cicero *Praises*  
calls him (a) the greatest of Kings after Alex- *given to*  
ander: and Velleius with his usual pomp of words, *that*  
after having said (b), that he is neither to be *Prince.*  
passed over in silence, nor spoken of without  
caution, adds, that he was very able in war,  
remarkably brave, great at some times of his  
life by his fortune, at all times by the elevation  
of his sentiments; a general in command, a  
soldier in execution, and in his hatred for Rome  
another Hannibal.

And indeed we cannot deny him a vast genius, *Judgment*  
capable for forming the greatest enterprizes, *upon his*  
superiour resolution, a constancy of mind of *character*  
proof against difficulties and misfortunes, a *and merit.*  
spirit of resource, which enabled him more  
than once to reinstate his affairs after the  
most amazing losses. With these talents were  
united personal bravery; and the wounds he  
several times received in battle are proofs of  
this. But I find no exploits in his life, that  
established him in the character of a great and  
excellent captain. I see him conqueror of the  
Asiatic nations, and even of the Romans ill-  
commanded. But the latter have no sooner  
able generals at their head, than the war be-  
comes a series of the greatest defeats and mis-  
fortunes to him, almost without the intervention  
of any good success; neither does he seem to  
have made victory cost much either to Lu-

(a) Ille rex post Alexan- mius, aliquando fortunâ, sem-  
drum maximus. Cic. Luc. per animo maximus, confi-  
n. 3. liis dux, miles manu, odio

(b) Vir neque flendus, in Romanos Annibal. Vell.  
neque dicendus sine cura, II. 18.  
bello acerrimus, virtute exi-

A.R. 689. cullus, or Pompey. I do not mention Sylla, Ant.C.63. who never acted against Mithridates in person.

As to ability in political Government, if lenity be an essential part of it, how can that glory be ascribed to a Prince cruel to excess?

We therefore venture to say, that there is more pomp and glare than reality in the merit of Mithridates. Ambition, presumption, haughtiness, qualities apt to dazzle the vulgar eye, constituted his whole reputation. But what was truly and solidly estimable in him, seems reducible to very little.

Literature however owes him some regard. Besides what I have said of the enquiries and collections, which he caused to be made on the subject of physick, and of himself studying that science, Appian extols him as expert in the arts of the Greeks; and Pliny relates a remarkable singularity in this kind of knowledge in a Prince busied in the government of a vast empire, and almost all his life engaged in war. This is, that Mithridates, who reckoned two and twenty different languages within the bounds of his dominions, knew them all, spoke them fluently, and never wanted an interpreter to give audience to any of his subjects.

As to the attributes of his body, his stature and mien were noble. As he was (a) tall and armed to advantage, he made a graceful figure in the field, and at the same time one proper to inspire his enemies with terror in battle. He performed all exercises wonderfully, and retained to the last all the vigour and address ne-

(a) Mithridates corpore ingenti, perinde armatus. *Sallust. at. Quint. viii. 3.*



cessary in throwing the dart, managing horses, A.R. 689. and travelling with such expedition, that he <sup>Ant.C.63.</sup> often made a \* thousand stadia in one day \* Forty with relays. He also knew how to guide leagues, chariots, and could drive with sixteen horses at a time harnessed to the same carriage. He lived about seventy-two years, of which he reigned sixty. Authors differ very much concerning the number of years, that he continued the war with the Romans, and some make them amount to forty, or even more. In strict truth, from his first hostilities to his death, only a space of twenty-six years elapsed. But he was a great while making preparations, before he entered upon action.

Pompey was in the plains of Jericho in *Pompey re-* Judæa (we shall relate the affairs that carried *ceives ad-* him thither, in the sequel) when he received *vice in the* the news of the death of Mithridates. He had *plains of* already formed his camp, and was exercising *Jericho of* his horse in the field before it. On a sudden, *the death* couriers bringing good news were seen to ar- *of Mithri-* rive; which, according, to the custom of the *dates.* Romans, was easily known, because in that *Jos. Ant.* case the couriers had the points of their lances *xiv. 7.* wrapt round with lawrel. Pompey was de- *Plut. in* sired to go through with the exercise. But the *Pomp.* eagerness of the soldiers was so great, that it was necessary to satisfy it immediately. He therefore re-entered the camp; and as they had not had time to erect him a tribunal of turf according to custom, they heaped up the baggage and pack-saddles of the mules, upon which they made him ascend. From thence he informed them, that Mithridates had been reduced by the defection of his son Pharnaces to kill himself; and that it was from Pharna-

A.R. 689. ces. himself, who submitted to the Romans,  
Ant.C.63. that he received advice of this important event.

The whole army immediately expressed their joy; and nothing was seen on all sides, but festivity and sacrifices of thanksgiving: by the death of Mithridates alone, they thought themselves delivered from many thousands of enemies.

*Thanks-*

*givings to*  
*the Gods at*  
*Rome.*

*Singular*  
*honour de-*  
*creed to*

*Pompey.*  
*Cic. de*  
*Prov.*  
*Conf. n.*  
*27. Vell.*  
*n. 40.*  
*Dio.*

Every body was no less delighted at Rome, when that news arrived there. Upon the motion of Cicero, then Consul, the senate decreed feasts and thanksgivings to the Gods to be solemnized for ten days, which before had never extended on the like occasion beyond six. It was thought impossible to do Pompey sufficient honour. Two tribunes of the people, T. Labienus and T. Ampius, passed a law to give him the privilege of being present at the games of the Circus with the crown of gold, the embroidered robe, and all the equipage of triumphers, and at the Scenick games with the robe *Prætecta* (worn only by the Magistrates) and the crown of lawrel. That distinction was so greatly particular, and so contrary to the republican spirit, that Pompey was ashamed of it, and never ventured to use it but once, if we may believe Velleius and Dio. Cicero says something, in a letter to Atticus, that seems to contradict this. The war of Mithridates being at length terminated by the death of that Prince, Pompey should now have been at liberty to return to Italy; but the affairs of Syria, and the neighbouring countries, detained him still a considerable length of time.

*Cic. ad*  
*Attic. i.*  
*18.*

*Pompey se-*  
*cures the*  
*tranquil-*  
*lity of*  
*Syria.*

We have said, that he had gone to Syria to annex that kingdom to the Roman empire, which he considered as part of the spoils of Tigranes,

Tigranes. In order to this he had only to shew himself. He also expelled without much difficulty abundance of petty tyrants, who during the weakness of the government of the Seleucidæ, and the domestick troubles, had settled themselves in the fortresses and castles, from which they held the countries adjacent in dependance. Such of these tyrants as were rich, ransomed their lives with money. The others paid for their crimes with their heads. The Roman general intended afterwards to carry the war against Aretas, king of the Nabathæan Arabians, who during the divisions of Syria had seized Damascus; and having very lately entered Judæa with a great army, had even laid siege to the temple of Jerusalem. Pompey, being resolved to secure the tranquillity of Syria, was desirous to chastize that Prince, and to make him renounce the thoughts of disturbing his neighbours by incursions; to which the genius of the Arabs was in all times, and still is, much inclined. He was arrived at Damascus, from whence Aretas had been driven by Metellus and Lollius, when Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who disputed the crown of Judæa with each other, came to him, each with the view of bringing him into his interest. This fact, for more reasons than one, deserves to be treated with some extent.

Hyrcanus and Aristobulus were brothers, both sons of Alexander Jannæus, but of a very different character. Hyrcanus, a weak Prince, of a mean genius, without vices or virtues, and with neither talents nor ambition, had not the qualities that were requisite for making good his right of eldership, against a bold,

*Troubles of Judæa, on the occasion of the succession to the throne, disputed between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus.*



A.R. 689 a bold, enterprizing, ambitious younger brother, who was conscious of all the superiority those attributes gave him over his elder. Their mother Alexandra, who reigned alone nine years after the death of Jannæus, was for following the order of birth, and at her death left the crown to her eldest son. Aristobulus formed a party, and seized several fortresses; so that their mother Alexandra had no other means left for checking him, than to shut up his wife and children in a castle, where they served for hostages. The Queen was scarce dead, when the war broke out. The two brothers came to a battle near Jericho; but the soldiers of Hyrcanus having quitted him to go over to his brother, he was reduced to give way; and by an agreement concluded and sworn in the temple, Hyrcanus resigned the high-priesthood, to which the crown was annexed, to Aristobulus.

He would probably have conformed to this engagement, and confined himself within the limits of a private life, if he had not had a minister about him, who would not suffer him to follow his inclination for ease. This was Antipater, an Idumæan by nation, and father of Herod the Great. This man, who was of a warm and enterprizing spirit, and exalted courage, incessantly attacked the softness and indolence of Hyrcanus; and finding him little sensible to ambition, he effected his design by the impression of fear. He persuaded him, that Aristobulus had too much interest in ridding himself of him, to suffer him to live; and that the only resource he had for the preservation of his person and life, was to throw himself into the arms of Aretas. The same Antipater



tipater negotiated with Aretas; and when all the A.R. 689.  
measures were concerted, he carried off Hyrcanus Ant.C.63.  
on a sudden to Petra, which was the capital  
of the Nabathæan Arabians.

It was on this occasion, and to reinstate Hyrcanus, that Aretas entered Judæa, as we have said, with an army of fifty thousand men. Aristobulus, who was far from having such numerous forces, was defeated, and obliged to shut himself up first in Jerusalem, and afterwards in the temple. The whole body of the Jewish nation went over to the conquerour; which did not hinder Aristobulus from making a vigorous defence in the temple.

Josephus in this place relates a memorable *Admirable*  
example of constancy, and love of his coun- *example of*  
try, in an illustrious Jew, called Onias. This *mildness,*  
*righteous man and beloved of God,* as the Histo- *and fra-*  
rian calls him, and of whose prayers the people *ternal*  
believed, they had experienced the efficacy *charity in*  
in a drought, hid himself on the approach *a Jew na-*  
of a civil war, in which he was resolved to *med Onias.*  
have no share. But having been discovered,  
and brought into the camp of the besiegers,  
he was pressed to utter imprecations against  
Aristobulus, and those of his party. He re-  
fused, and defended himself against it a great  
while. At length the violent and outrageous  
multitude having seized him, and placed him  
between the camp and the temple, he made  
this prayer, which breathes a goodness and  
charity worthy to serve as models to those,  
who have the misfortune to live in times of  
trouble and division. *Most High God, cried*  
*he, Lord of the Universe, seeing that those in*  
*the midst of whom I now am, are thy people,*  
*and those who are besieged are thy priests, I im-*  
*plore,*

*A.R. 689. plore, I beseech thy divine Majesty, that thou  
Ant.C. 63. wilt not give ear to the vows either of the one  
or the other against their fellow-citizens and  
brethren. In reward for so pure a virtue, and  
so laudable an impartiality, Onias was stoned  
upon the spot: and Josephus affirms, that his  
death drew down the divine vengeance upon  
the whole nation.*

At this interim arrived Scaurus, sent by Pompey, who was then in Armenia minor, at his return from his expedition against the Iberians and Albanians. The Roman having immediately taken upon him to arbitrate between the two brothers, both offered him money: but Aristobulus paid his down; and the weight of four hundred talents, which he caused to be delivered to Scaurus, made his reasons good, and gave his cause a merit it must otherwise have wanted. That mercenary judge declared for him; and menacing Aretas with the wrath of Pompey, and of the Roman arms, he obliged him to retire. Hyrcanus, who followed him, no sooner knew, that Pompey was at Damascus, than he went to him to make his complaints: and Aristobulus, not to leave the field open to his adversary, was compelled to go thither also to plead his cause, and endeavour to make Scaurus's sentence good.

*Pompey in  
favour of  
Hyrcanus,  
and being  
angry  
with Ari-  
stobulus,  
marches  
against  
Jerusa-  
lem.* The general, more equitable than his lieutenant, and inaccessible to corruption, heard both parties, and having immediately perceived on which side, the right was, he resolved to do Hyrcanus justice. However, as his expedition against Aretas was still in his thoughts, he did not pass judgment directly, and contented himself with ordering the two Princes

Princes to continue quiet, 'till his return from A.R. 689.  
Arabia. This did not answer the purpose of Ant.C.63.

Aristobulus, who perceived, that things were taking a turn not in favour of his pretensions; and who besides having a soul superiour to his fortune, could not without great repugnance descend to the abject submissions, necessary for making his court to those haughty strangers. He therefore set out abruptly, and retired to Judæa. Pompey incensed, and besides not willing to give Aristobulus time for assembling his forces, thought he had nothing more important to do, than to pursue him. It was on this march, that he received the news of the death of Mithridates.

That event, which put an end to his com-  
mission, determined him speedily to conclude  
the affair he had began, in order to return  
afterwards to Italy. He therefore marched  
with the utmost diligence towards Jerusalem;  
upon which Aristobulus was so much terri-  
fied, that he came himself to Pompey's camp,  
as if to submit entirely, offering money, and  
promising to deliver up the city. Pompey  
kept him, and sent Gabinius with some troops,  
to receive the promised sums, and take pos-  
session of Jerusalem. But that Lieutenant re-  
turned without doing any thing; the people  
of Aristobulus, perhaps in conformity to his  
secret orders, refusing to execute the treaty.  
The Roman general was much offended, and  
having caused the unfortunate Prince to be  
laid in chains, who had imprudently put him-  
self into his hands, he advanced to the walls.  
The division of the inhabitants soon made him  
master of the city. Some were for Aristobu-  
lus,

*He possesses  
himself of  
the city,  
and be-  
sieves the  
temple.*



A R. 639. Ius, and would not admit the Romans: others  
 Ant.C.63. were for Hyrcanus, and were for opening the gates to them. At length the former having retired into the temple, in order to post themselves there, the latter remaining alone in the city, gave Pompey entrance, who after having endeavoured in vain to induce those that had seized the temple, to surrender upon terms, besieged it in form.

The place was strong, and entirely separate from the city. There was a communication between them by a bridge, but it had been broke down by the besieged. The mountain upon which the temple was built, was entirely surrounded with broad and deep valleys, which it was absolutely necessary to fill up before it was possible to batter the walls. The approaches were however least difficult on the north side; and it was on that Pompey attacked it. As his army was very numerous, he caused so many fascines to be thrown into the fossé, that it was at length filled up, and a platform raised to the height of the walls. This work could not be compleated without much time and fatigue; and perhaps he would not have succeeded in it, if the Jews themselves had not assisted him by their scrupulous observation of the sabbath; for (a) they believed, that they were not permitted to handle arms on that day, except in case of be-

(a) The decision made upon this subject in the time of Antiochus, seems to allow more, than the Jews permit themselves to act upon this occasion. Whoever shall come against us to make war on the Sabbath-day, let us fight with him, 1 Maccab. ii. 41. It is attacking a place effectually, to carry on works for attacking it afterwards.

ing



ing attacked; and that no other motion or enterprize of the enemy dispensed with their strict observance of rest. The Romans, who knew their manner of thinking, made no assaults upon the place, and discharged no machines against them on the Sabbath-day; but only carried on their works, and in great tranquillity prepared every thing necessary for attacking the besieged afterwards.

When the platform was finished, Pompey planted machines upon it, which he had caused to be brought from Tyre, and he battered the walls with such fury, that there was soon a breach in them. Faustus Sylla was the first, who mounted the wall with the troops under his command, and was followed by two centuries and their companies. In this manner the place was carried after a siege of three months, on the very day of the fast of the third month, which, according to some, had been instituted in memory of the taking of Jerusalem by Nabuchodonosor; and this day was also the sabbath. The religious constancy, which the Jewish priests shewed upon this occasion, cannot be sufficiently admired. During the whole time that the temple had been besieged, they had never omitted the morning or evening sacrifices: and when the place was taken, they calmly persisted in performing the holy ceremonies. Neither the fear of so dreadful a danger, nor the sight of the numbers put to the sword around them, could divert them from their pious attention to the offerings. Not one of them thought of flying; and they chose rather to expect death at the foot of the altars, than to be wanting in any thing prescribed them by the law for the worship

A.R. 689.  
Ant.C. 63.

*Taking of  
the temple.  
Religious  
constancy  
of the  
Jewish  
priests.*

A.R. 689. worship of God. Josephus affirms, that the  
 Ant.C. 63. Pagan authors themselves had evidenced this  
 wonder; and he quotes Strabo, Nicolaus  
 Damascenus, and Livy. As to the rest of  
 the Jews, a great slaughter was made of  
 them. Besides those, who perished by the ene-  
 my's swords, despair induced many either to  
 throw themselves down from the tops of the  
 rocks, or to set fire to the buildings nearest the  
 temple, and throw themselves into the flames.  
 Josephus makes the number of the dead a-  
 mount to twelve thousand. On the side of  
 the victors there were many wounded, but few  
 killed.

*Pompey  
 enters the  
 Sanctum  
 Sancto-  
 rum.*

In so horrible a calamity, what gave the  
 Jews the most sensible and piercing affliction,  
 was the profanation of the sanctuary, called  
 the *Holy of Holies*, which they revered  
 with no less devotion, though it no longer  
 contained the Ark, that had perished in the  
 destruction of the first temple by Nabucho-  
 donosor. Every body knows, that only the  
 high-priest was permitted to enter it, and that  
 but once a year. Pompey, who did not  
 know this law, or if he had known it, would  
 have despised it, entered with his principal  
 officers even into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, in-  
 spected every thing curiously, and was much  
 amazed to find no statue nor any representation  
 of a Divinity. But this was an entirely barren  
 admiration. It does not appear, that either  
 himself, or any of his train, bestowed a  
 serious attention upon this singularity. The  
 Pagans, after this event, were scarce better in-  
 formed concerning the religion of the Jews,  
 or at least without any consequence contrary  
 to their absurd practice of adoring wood and  
 stone.

stone. Long after this, and even when Christianity had spread throughout the universe, the most learned amongst them have vented, with some mixture of truth, the most absurd chimeras upon the history of the Jewish nation, and their worship: so indifferent are men in respect to religion; and so much do the learned themselves regard any other object as more worthy of their enquiries.

For the rest, Pompey acted as a generous conqueror. He found great riches in the temple; the golden sconces with seven branches, the table of shew-bread, a great number of vessels of gold, a prodigious quantity of perfumes of great value, and \* two thousand talents of silver. All these treasures did not tempt him, he carried away from Judæa only the golden vine, which Aristobulus had sent him as a present to Damascus, in order to conciliate his favour. It was not so properly a vine, as a garden in the form of a square mountain, with figures of stags, lions, and fruits of different kinds; the whole surrounded with vine-branches. This work was valued at five hundred talents. Pompey did not appropriate so valuable a prize to his own use. He caused this vine to be placed in the capitol, where Strabo, as Josephus relates, had seen it with its ancient inscription, which bore the name of Alexander king of the Jews. The victor shewed also his clemency, in causing the temple to be carefully cleansed the next day after it was taken, and restoring the free use of it to the priests, for resuming and continuing their ceremonies and sacrifices.

He did not forget the interests of Hyrcanus, whose party had given him great assistance in



A.R. 689 this war. He reinstated him in the high-priest-  
 Ant.C.63. hood, and appointed him prince of the Jews ;  
 but with prohibition to wear the diadem. He  
 either put to death, or confined in chains, the  
 ring-leaders of the rebellion : he carried away  
 Aristobulus prisoner, with his two sons and  
 two daughters : he demolished the walls of Je-  
 rusalem ; he laid a tribute upon the Jewish na-  
 tion, and confined them within their ancient  
 limits ; taking from them many places, which  
 they had conquered from the kings of Syria.  
 Such were the fruits of the unhappy division  
 between the two brothers, Hyrcanus and Ari-  
 stobulus ; the nation deprived of it's liberty,  
 subjected to the Romans, divested of it's con-  
 quests (a), impoverished by the immense sums,  
 that went out of the country for the payment  
 of tributes ; and we shall see in a few years,  
 in consequence of the same divisions, the royal  
 race extinct, and the sovereignty transferred to  
 a foreign family.

Amongst the cities of Syria taken by the  
 Jews, was Gadara, which they had even de-  
 stroyed. Pompey rebuilt it's walls, and re-  
 peopled it, in consideration of one of his freed-  
 men, whose country it was, and who was in  
 very great credit with him.

*Riches  
 and inso-  
 lence of  
 Demetrius  
 his freed-  
 man.*

This freedman, whose name was Demetrius,  
 is famous for his insolence. (b) He was not  
 ashamed, says Seneca, of being richer than  
 Pompey : and Plutarch relates of him, that  
 before he returned to Rome, he had very fine

*Plut. in  
 Pomp.*

(a) *Josephus makes them  
 amount to above ten thousand  
 talents ; that is, according to  
 our computation, about fifteen  
 hundred thousand pounds.*

(b) *Quem non puduit lo-  
 cupitiorum esse Pompeio.  
 Sen. de Tranq. Animi, n. 8.*

houses



houses in the most agreeable suburbs of the city, with magnificent gardens, whilst Pompey had only a plain modest habitation. Frequently also at feasts, when Pompey was waiting for the guests, and receiving them with politeness as they arrived, Demetrius had already taken his place at table, with his head covered, and lolling at his ease. As the freedman seemed to share his patron's power, all the world paid their court to him: and Plutarch has preserved us an adventure upon this head, which has something pleasant in it.

Cato was travelling in Asia, whilst Pompey was there at the head of the Roman armies. In the course of his progress he came to Antioch, curious to see one of the finest cities of the East. He was not far from it, when he perceived without the gates a multitude of people in white habits, and on both sides of the way young persons and children disposed in a line. He imagined, that this was a reception made for him, which displeased him; for he did not affect pomp and ceremonial. He travelled on foot, according to his constant custom, and his friends were on horseback. He ordered them to dismount, to do those honour, whom, he believed, were come out with design to compliment him. But when he was at some small distance, the person who had ranged all this troop in order, having a crown upon his head, and a staff in his hand, came forwards, and asked him, where he had left Demetrius, and whether he would not soon arrive. On that question the friends of Cato set up a great laugh; but as for himself, always serious and austere, he went on without answering one word to the man who questioned him, only

A. R. 689. crying out, *O wretched city!* he thought such  
 Ann. C. 63 an aculation of a pitiful freedman, still galled  
 with the chains of slavery, shameful and ab-  
 Julian. ject: and Julian the apostate thought himself  
 Minopog. in the right, for reviving that reproach several  
 ages afterwards against the inhabitants of An-  
 tioch, with whom he was angry.

*Excessive indulgence of Pompey in respect to those he loved.*  
 Plut. in Pomp. The enormous riches and power of this De-  
 metrius reflect no honour upon his patrons. But  
 such was the disposition of Pompey, he over-  
 looked every thing in those he loved, many  
 of whom resembled him very little. Good-  
 natured by disposition, merciful, moderate, and  
 generous, all who immediately approached  
 himself, were infinitely satisfied with the treat-  
 ment they received. But Gabinius, Scaurus,  
 and others, acted all kinds of injustice and op-  
 pression under his authority, and enriched them-  
 selves by pillaging without any reserve. Pom-  
 pey suffered it, either through weakness, not  
 daring to check them; or through policy, to  
 attach creatures to him, whom he was afraid  
 to remove by too much severity. It is a blot  
 in his reputation; for it does not suffice for a  
 man in office, that his personal conduct be clear  
 and exempt from reproach; he is accountable  
 for the faults and oppressions of all in subordi-  
 nation to him.

*He comes to Antioch, receives the body of Mithridates.*  
 When Pompey had regulated the affairs of  
 Judæa, he left Scaurus, in Syria, with two le-  
 gions, and began his march to return to Italy.  
 He soon passed Cilicia and Pontus, and arrived  
 at Amisus, where he received deputies from  
 Pharnaces, who brought him great presents,  
 and the body of Mithridates. He would not  
 see that corpse, nor seem to insult the misfor-  
 tune of a great king after his death. He sent  
 it.

it to Sinope, to be placed in the tomb of his AR 689.  
 ancestors; with orders, that his funeral should Ant.C.63.  
 be solemnized with the utmost magnificence.  
 But he admired the riches and splendor of his  
 robes and arms. There was however two rare  
 and precious pieces missing, the scabbard of a  
 sword, that had cost four hundred talents, and  
 a royal cap after the Persian manner of admira-  
 ble workmanship. These two pieces were sto-  
 len, the last at the solicitation of Faustus Sylla,  
 who secured it for himself.

Pharnaces sent also to Pompey a great num- *He con-*  
 ber of hostages, whom Mithridates had exacted *firms*  
 from different princes or states, as well Greeks *Pharnaces*  
 as Barbarians. He also delivered up those, *in the pos-*  
 which M. Aquillius had taken at Mitylene, that *session of*  
 he might punish them. And lastly, he de- *the kin-*  
 manded to be re-established in the kingdom of *dom of the*  
 Pontus, or at least confirmed in the possession *Bosphorus.*  
 of the kingdom of the Bosphorus. Pompey *Appian.*  
 granted him the last with the title of king, *Mithrid.*  
 friend and ally of the Roman people; only he  
 excepted from the number of his subjects, and  
 made a free people, the inhabitants of Phana-  
 goreum, whose revolt had given Mithridates  
 the last blow. Castor, the author of that de-  
 fection, received the title of friend and ally of  
 the Roman people, and afterwards became the  
 son-in-law of king Dejotarus.

Many governors of castles had waited the Dic. L.  
 arrival of Pompey in the country, in order to xxxvii. &  
 surrender their places, apprehending that the Appian.  
 treasures kept in them might be plundered, and  
 themselves made accountable for them. Pom-  
 pey in consequence amassed abundance of rich  
 moveables, and fine jewels, of which some  
 were said to have come down from Darius,



A.R. 689. the son of Hyftaspes, from whom the kings of  
 Ant.C.63. Pontus deduced their origin. Before he de-  
 parted, he distributed rewards amongst the pet-  
 ty princes, who deserved well of the common-  
 wealth: he built and repaired several cities in  
 Pontus, and the countries round about: after  
 which having dispatched all affairs, he pursued  
 his rout, travelling rather with pomp, than  
 marching as a general.

A R. 690.  
 Ant.C.62.

D. JUNIUS SILANUS.  
 L. LICINIUS MURÆNA.

*His re-  
 turn.  
 Plat.*

The general rendezvous of the troops was at  
 Ephesus, where the embarkation was to be  
 made. Pompey, whilst he waited the return  
 of the fine season, employed his leisure in visit-  
 ing some famous islands. He went to Lesbos,  
 where he granted liberty to the city of Mity-  
 lene, in honour of Theophanes, his friend and  
 confident, who was a native of it. It was no  
 doubt great joy to Theophanes to efface the per-  
 fidy to the Romans, of which his fellow-citi-  
 zens had been guilty, in delivering up M. Aquil-  
 lius to Mithridates; and to be able not only to  
 exempt his country from the evils it had suffer-  
 ed, but to reinstate it in all it's ancient splendor.  
 Pompey was present in this city at the games  
 of poetry, in which there were prizes proposed,  
 according to the custom of most of the Gre-  
 cian cities: and the subjects of all the pieces  
 repeated before him, were solely taken from his  
 exploits and victories, which all the great wits  
 made it their business to celebrate in emulation  
 of each other. The theatre of Mitylene pleased  
 him: and he caused a plan of it to be taken,  
 in



in order to build one in Rome in the same taste, but much more grand and vast. A. R. 690.  
Ant. C. 62.

At Rhodes he heard all the philosophers, and made each of them a present of a talent. But he treated Posidonius particularly with all kinds of honours; so (a) that going to pay him a visit, he would not suffer the lictors to strike with their rods, as was the custom, at that philosopher's door. Thus the conqueror of the East and West, made his greatness submit in some measure to the glory of letters. *Particular regard, which he expresses for the philosopher Posidonius.*

Posidonius had the gout: and Pompey, after having saluted him in the most obliging manner, and in terms full of esteem, declared how much he was concerned, that he could not have the satisfaction of hearing a lecture from him. *You can,* replied the philosopher: *it shall never be said, that pain was of sufficient force to make the visit of so great a man to me lost time.* He immediately chose a thesis of the stoick moral philosophy; and lying in his bed began a long discourse, in which he undertook to prove, that nothing deserves the name of good, but virtue. Pompey, from whom Cicero had this whole fact, added, that from time to time the fits of the pain became so excessively tormenting, that Posidonius was obliged to stop short, and that he often repeated: *Pain, (b) pain, you do nothing. Though you are troublesome, I shall never confess, that you are an evil.* We ought to be pleased with this philosopher, for having had the courage,

(a) Fores percuti de more à lictore vetuit; & fasces litterarum januæ submisit is cui se Oriens Occidensque submiterat. *Plin. vii. 30.*

(b) Nihil agis, dolor: quamvis sis molestus, nunquam te esse confitebor malum.

A. R. 690. notwithstanding what he suffered, to treat mat-  
 Ant. C. 62. ters of reasoning with a kind of tranquillity. But  
 is it not a puerile subtilty for a man to refuse  
 to call pain an evil, whilst it makes him vent  
 great cries?

Appian. Towards the end of winter, Pompey distri-  
 buted rewards in money to his troops, with a  
 magnificence, that has something amazing in it.

\* About 73 pounds. He gave each foot soldier fifteen \* hundred  
 drachmas, and the centurions and horse in pro-  
 portion, that is, according to what we have  
 seen done in several places of Livy, twice as  
 much to the centurions, and thrice to the horse.  
 The sum to which this largess amounted, Ap-  
 pian computes at sixteen thousand talents, or  
 about two millions four hundred thousand pounds  
*sterling*.

*He is in-  
 formed of  
 his wife  
 Mucia's  
 bad con-  
 duct, and  
 repudiates  
 her.  
 Plat.* Pompey expected to return to Italy the most  
 glorious of mankind; but he had the affliction  
 and disgrace of a domestic misfortune to ex-  
 perience. Mucia his wife, by whom he had  
 three children, had behaved herself in his ab-  
 sence in a manner little worthy not only of the  
 name she bore, but the glory of her consort.  
 Pompey thought proper to send her a bill of di-  
 vorce directly. But the grief, this affair gave him,  
 did not prevent him soon after from contract-  
 ing a strict union with Cæsar, who was gene-  
 rally believed the corrupter of Mucia. And  
 that lady, notwithstanding her bad reputation,  
 found another husband, who was the same  
 Scaurus, Pompey's quæstor, that I have men-  
 tioned more than once, and who was the son of  
 the famous Scaurus, prince of the senate.

*His m. r.  
 . 1235.* Because I have had occasion to speak of  
 Pompey's wife, I may here be permitted to  
 give an account of his different marriages.

His

His first wife was Antistia, the daughter of A.R. 690. Antistius, who, when prætor, presided at the trial of Pompey, accused for things done by his father, as I have already related. The second was Æmilia, the daughter of Scaurus the elder, and Metella. It was Sylla, who made up this second marriage of Pompey. He was desirous to annex him to his family; and that he did very nearly, by making him espouse Æmilia, the daughter of Metella, who was become his wife. The proceedings in this affair were tyrannical, and more conformable to the times of Sylla than the manners of Pompey. The latter was obliged to repudiate Antistia, whose father had lately been killed on his account, by young Marius's faction; and Æmilia was taken away from Glabrio her husband, though actually big with child. This marriage did not prosper; Æmilia died in child-bed in Pompey's house. He married a third wife, who was the Mucia, of whom I have just been speaking. The fourth will be Julia, Cæsar's daughter.

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BOOK THE THIRTY SEVENTH.

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THE  
ROMAN HISTORY.

**C**ONSPIRACY of Catilina, with some other facts, that relate to and coincide with it. Years of Rome, 687—689.

S E C T. I.

*Noble birth of Catilina. Heroick valour of Sergius Silus his great-grandfather. Character of Catilina. Corruption of manners of the Romans. He is accused of incest with a vestal, and acquitted. After his prætorship, he governs Africa, and on his return to Rome he is accused of extortion. First conspiracy of Catilina. Cæsar and Crassus suspected of having a share in it. The conspirators miss their aim. Catilina is acquitted of extortion. Cæsar being ædile, gives magnificent shews to the people. He sets up the statues of Marius in the capitol.*



*tol. Diversity of opinions in respect to that bold act. Famous saying of Catulus. Cæsar attempts in vain to get himself sent to Egypt. Succession of the kings of Egypt from Latyrus. Will of Alexander III. The censors Catulus and Crassus differ with each other, and abdicate. Constancy of Cato in rejecting the solicitation of Catulus. Cato's family. His infancy. His tender friendship for his brother. Cato's passion for the stoick philosophy. He applies himself to eloquence. He labours to increase his strength, and to harden his body. He accustoms himself to drinking to excess. He takes pleasure in acting contrary to the taste of his age. His haughty constancy. The great prudence of his youth. He marries. He had served as a volunteer in the war of Spartacus. He serves as a legionary tribune in Macedonia. His admirable conduct in that employment. Cato makes the tour of Asia. His simplicity and mildness. Pompey gives him a reception, that teaches the states of Asia to respect him. Dejotarus cannot prevail upon him to accept presents. He prepares to stand for the quæstorship. When quæstor, he regulates, and reduces the registers to do their duty. He shews himself just in respect to payments, attentive against frauds, and assiduous in all the functions of his office. Opinions of his colleagues in respect to him. Remarkable instance of his courage in regard to one of them. His fidelity in discharging the duties of a senator. Greatness of his reputation. Cæsar condemns those as murderers, who had killed the persons proscribed. Catilina is acquitted. He stands for the consulship with Cicero, and five other candidates. Catilina labours to promote the scheme*  
of

*of his conspiracy. He attaches all the vile persons of the city to himself. His arts to corrupt the youth. Strength of Catilina's party. He assembles the heads of them in his house. His discourse to the conspirators. Whether he gave them human blood to drink is matter of doubt. The secret of the conspiracy takes air. The reports spread of it conduce much to Cicero's being elected consul. Saying of Cicero upon the censor Cotta.*

## BEGINNINGS OF CATILINA.

**W**HILST Pompey was in the East, Rome was strangely agitated, and exposed to the greatest dangers. Catilina was very near causing it to perish by flames, and drowning it in the blood of it's inhabitants: and Cæsar, if he cannot be considered as an accomplice in so black a design, though he was suspected and accused of it, at least promoted, by several bold and factious steps, the design he had formed of making himself master of the commonwealth. I begin with Catilina.

*Nobility of  
Catilina:  
heroick  
valour of  
Sergius  
Silus his  
great-  
grand-  
father.  
Plin. vii.  
23.*

L. Sergius Catilina was of the highest order of the nobility. The house of the Sergii was Patrician, and had given consuls and consular tribunes to Rome, almost from the first establishment of the commonwealth. Amongst the ancestors of Catilina none was more illustrious than his great-grandfather, M. Sergius Silus, whose valour bordered upon prodigy. In his second campaign, he lost his right hand: in two campaigns he was wounded two and twenty times; and though his wounds made him almost incapable of helping himself either with

with his hands or feet, he however continued to serve a great while, and with abundance of glory. He caused an iron hand to be made for his right arm, and fought as well as he could only with his left: on different occasions he had horses killed under him. He was twice taken by Hannibal (for it was with that formidable enemy he had to do) and as often escaped out of prison, having been kept continually in chains during twenty months. He did not distinguish his bravery only as a subaltern officer. He had important commands, in which he caused the siege of Cremona to be raised, defended Placentia, and took twelve camps of the enemy in Cisalpine Gaul. So brave a man being become prætor, his colleagues were so void of shame to design to exclude him from their sacrifices, as being maimed. Sergius opposed that injury in a discourse, wherein he repeats circumstantially the facts I have just mentioned, and which Pliny has transmitted down to us. That author assumes a lofty tone to praise the valour of Sergius. “ (a) What a number of crowns, he  
 “ cries out, would that warrior have amassed,  
 “ had he had any other enemy but Hannibal  
 “ to fight with? For difference of times makes  
 “ a great difference in the manner, wherein  
 “ valour can signalize itself. Could the battles of Ticinus, Trebia, or Thrasymenus,  
 “ have supplied occasions for acquiring civil

(a) Quos hic coronarum acervos consecutus erat hoste mutato? Ftenim plurimam refert, in quæ cujusque virtus tempora inciderit. Quas Trebia, Ticinusve, aut Thrasymenus civicas dedere? Quæ Cannis corona merita? unde fugisse virtutis summum opus fuit. Cæteri profectò victores hominum tuere, Sergius vicit etiam fortunam. *Plin.*  
 “ crowns?



“ crowns ? What military rewards was ac-  
 “ quired in the battle of Cannæ, from which  
 “ the only merit was to have fled. Others in-  
 “ deed have conquered men, but Sergius con-  
 “ quered fortune.”

*Catiline's  
 character.*

Catiline, great-grandson of that hero, instead of sustaining the glory, was the disgrace, of so illustrious a name. (a) His courage was great, and his body vigorous ; but his genius malevolent and perverse. From his earliest years, intestine wars, murders, rapine, and civil discord, constituted his delight ; and in them he exercised his youth. As he was robust of body, he bore hunger, cold, and fatigues, beyond what is conceivable. As to his mind, he was audacious, deceitful, capable of assuming any different form, and of appearing, or disguising, any thing, greedy of others wealth, profuse of his own, and ardent to excess in all his appetites. He did not want eloquence ; but had little solid sense or wisdom. His vast and insatiable spirit made him always desirous

(a) L. Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magnâ vi & animi & corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adolescentia bella intestina, cædes, rapinæ, discordia civilis, grata fuere : ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediæ, algoris, vigiliæ, supra quàm cuiquam credibile est. Animus audax, subdolus, varius, cuiuslibet rei simulator ac dissimulatus, alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus. Satis eloquentiæ, sapientiæ parum. Vastus animus immoderata, incredibi-

lia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc, post dominationem L. Syllæ, libido maxima invaserat reipublicæ capiundæ : neque id quibus modis assequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quidquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque indies animus ferox inopiâ rei familiaris, & conscientiam scelerum : quæ utraque his artibus auxerat, quas supra memoravi. Incitabant præterea corrupti civitatis mores ; quos pessima, ac diversa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. *Salust. Cat.*

of



of things without bounds, incredible, and too high for attainment. After Sylla's tyranny, a violent passion seized him for making himself master of the commonwealth; nor did he regard the means, provided he succeeded in attaining dominion. The ruinous state of his fortune, and the consciousness of his crimes, both the effects of the arts we have just mentioned, continually agitated, and hurried on his furious soul. Add to this the hope of success, founded on the general corruption of manners of the city, which two vices, that seem opposite, but are equally pernicious, luxury and avarice, totally engrossed and actuated.

Sallust, from whom we have this picture of Catilina, adds a description of the manners of the Romans; and he begins with an account of the virtues of the antient times, the better to contrast them with the vices, that had prevailed in effect of the aggrandizement of the empire. This whole passage is admirable. But it does not seem necessary to insert the praise of the antient manners here, which must be known throughout this history: and as to the opposite characters, we shall only extract from them what has a more immediate relation to Catilina.

From the taking of Carthage, the virtue of the Romans, as has been observed elsewhere, had declined exceedingly. Ambition and the love of money introduced the most horrid disorders. But Sylla's victory is a second period fatal to the manners of the Romans. "After  
 "(a) Sylla, says Sallust, having extricated the  
 " common-

(a) Postquam L. Sylla, tiis malos eventus habuit, rā-  
 Republicā receptā, bonis ini- pere omnes, trahere: do-  
 mum

“ commonwealth from it's other oppressors,  
 “ had made a bad end of what he had well  
 “ began, violence and rapine became univer-  
 “ sal: some coveted houses, some lands: the  
 “ victors knew neither moderation nor bounds,  
 “ and exercised all kinds of cruelty upon the  
 “ citizens. And how should Sylla's soldiers,  
 “ corrupted by the luxury of Asia, know any

mum aliûs, aliûs, agros cupere: neque modum, neque modestiam victores habere; fœda crudeliaque in civis facinora facere—Quippe secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant: ne illi, corruptis moribus, victoriæ temperarent. Postquam divitiæ honori esse cœperunt, & eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur, hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malivolentia duci cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasere. Rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi, neque moderati habere. Operæ pretium est, quum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exædificatas, visere templa deorum, quæ nostri majores, religiosissimi mortales, fecere. Verùm illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloriâ decorabant; neque victis quidquam, præter injuriæ licentiam, eripiebant. At hi contrà, ignavissimi mortales, per sum-

mum scelus, omnia ea sociis ademere, quæ fortissimi viri victores hostibus reliquerunt: proinde quasi injuriam facere, id demum esset imperio uti. Nam quid ea memorem, quæ nisi iis qui videre, nemini credibilia sunt? à privatis compluribus subversos montes, maria constrata esse: quibus mihi ludibrio videntur fuisse divitiæ. Quippe, quas honestè habere licebat, per turpitudinem abuti properabant. Sed libido stupri, ganæ, cæterique cultûs non minor incefferat. Viri patimuliebria: mulieres in propatulo pudicitiam habere: vescendi cau.â, terrâ marique, omnia exquirere: dormire prius, quàm somni cupidus esset: non famem aut sitim, neque frigus aut lassitudinem opperiri; sed ea omnia luxu antecapere. Hæc juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant. Animus imbutus malis artibus, haud facile lubricinibus carebat: eo profusus omnibus modis quæstui atque sumtui deditus erat.

“ reserves,

“ reserves, when prosperity is apt to alter and  
 “ pervert even the wise themselves? From  
 “ the time, that riches began to be entirely in  
 “ honour and glory, command and power  
 “ followed them only, virtue became a languid  
 “ principle, poverty a disgrace, and integrity  
 “ of manners passed for singularity and male-  
 “ volence. The youth nurtured in the arms  
 “ of luxury, abandoned themselves to de-  
 “ bauchery, avidity of gain, and wicked empty  
 “ pride. They were rapacious in order to be  
 “ prodigal: they were careless in the profu-  
 “ sion of their own, and studious to possess  
 “ themselves of what belonged to others. Ho-  
 “ nour, honesty, shame, all things divine and  
 “ human, became indifferent to them; and  
 “ their sole regard was to gratify their appe-  
 “ tites.

“ It is worth our while, adds Sallust, to  
 “ consider the places and country-seats of our  
 “ contemporaries, the prodigious extent of  
 “ which is equal to that of cities, and to view  
 “ at the same time the simplicity of the tem-  
 “ ples built to the honour of the gods by our  
 “ ancestors, the most religious of men. But  
 “ those heroes honoured the temples of the  
 “ Gods by their piety, and their houses by  
 “ the glory of their exploits; and they took  
 “ nothing from the conquered states, but the  
 “ power to commit injustice. Whereas our  
 “ moderns, men of neither hearts nor heads,  
 “ with the most flagrant wickedness, plunder  
 “ even the allies of the commonwealth of  
 “ the things of value, which the moderation of  
 “ our truly brave ancestors had left to con-  
 “ quered enemies: as if to be unjust with im-  
 “ punity, was the proper use of dominion.



“ Why should I mention here the works, that  
 “ only those can believe possible who have  
 “ seen them? Mountains levelled by private  
 “ persons, and seas pent up by moles, that  
 “ serve for foundations to superb edifices?  
 “ Madmen! who idly sport away riches, and  
 “ lavish to their reproach what might do them  
 “ honour, if they knew how to make a wise  
 “ use of them.

“ The extinction of all sense of shame is  
 “ always the consequence of excessive luxury.  
 “ Chastity was no longer known amongst the  
 “ women; and the men made an open prac-  
 “ tice of the vilest turpitude of unnatural  
 “ lust. Gluttony was carried to such an ex-  
 “ cess, that the land and sea scarce sufficed  
 “ for covering the table. Such an effeminacy  
 “ and senseless softness prevailed in all things,  
 “ that the necessities of nature were obviated  
 “ by luxury before they were felt: they did  
 “ not wait, ’till the importunities of sleep, or  
 “ cold, or weariness, or hunger, or thirst,  
 “ solicited remedies; they prevented them.  
 “ The youth accustomed to this course of life,  
 “ when their own fortunes failed, had re-  
 “ course to the most atrocious crimes. Minds  
 “ formed in such habits, could not subsist with-  
 “ out the gratification of their darling appe-  
 “ tites; and rapine and profusion combined to  
 “ propagate each other with surprizing force  
 “ and effect.”

*Catiline's* In a city so abounding with disorders, the  
*criminal* vices and crimes of Catilina deservedly placed  
*him* him at the head of all, that it contained of  
 vile. I have related his detestable cruelties in  
 the proscription. Sallust reproaches him with  
 having passed his youth in every kind of in-  
 famous



famous vice; of having debauched a maid of illustrious birth, and afterwards a vestal. And long after having fallen in love with Aurelia Orestilla, who never had any thing but her beauty, that deserved praise, as she made a difficulty to marry him, because he had a son of some growth by a former wife, it was generally believed, that he himself caused his own son to be put to death, in order to remove by that abominable crime the obstacle to his desires.

We omit other horrid facts, which we cannot resolve to relate here, though Cicero reproached him with them in the full senate.

The incest which he committed with the vestal Fabia drew a serious affair upon him. He was accused in form, and prosecuted criminally. But Fabia was Cicero's wife's sister, and Catilina himself was protected by Catulus. Favour prevailed, and the criminals were acquitted.

It will perhaps appear surprizing, that Catulus, a man of worth and a good citizen, should interest himself for Catilina. But it was one of that knave's talents, to know how to impose upon persons of probity, who often through the uprightness of their own hearts are more easy to deceive than others. Cicero expressly observes (*a*), that at the same time Catilina lived in the strictest unity with all that were vilest in Rome, he pretended to be entirely devoted to the good citizens.

Catilina was probably prætor in the 684th year of Rome under the consuls Q. Metellus

(*a*) Utebatur hominibus simulabat. improbis multis, & quidem optimis se viris deditum esse

Cic. pro Cal.

n. 12.

S 2

Cic. in Toga Cand.

*He is accused of incest with a vestal, and acquitted.*

Ascen. in Or. Cic. in Toga Cand.

Oros. vi. 3.

*After his prætorship he governs Africa, and at his return to*

*Rome is accused of extortion.*

Cic. in

Toga Cand. & ibi Ascen.

Sallust.

Dio L.

xxxvi.

and

and Marcius Rex; and after his prætorship, he went to govern Africa, that is to plunder, oppress, and excruciate it. He carried things so far, that the Africans sent deputies to Rome, to complain of the oppressions and violence of their prætor. There were several very rigorous resolutions against him in the senate. This did not prevent him from returning to the city in 686, with an undaunted air, when Lepidus and Volcatius were consuls, to stand for the consulship. But he no sooner arrived, than he was accused of extortion by Clodius, who was no better than himself. This accusation prevented him from setting up then as a candidate. It was necessary to acquit himself previously to his being admitted as such.

*First conspiracy of Catilina.*

The election of the consuls excited great tumult. P. Sylla, the near relation of the Dictator of the same name, and P. Antronus, had been nominated. But two of their competitors, L. Cotta and L. Torquatus, having accused them of canvassing corruptly, caused them to be found guilty, and thereby deprived them of their office, and were themselves elected in their stead.

Despair and fury seized the two deposed consuls; at least one of them, P. Antronus. For as to P. Sylla, though Suetonius and Dio make him an accomplice in the conspiracy, of which I am going to speak, Sallust does not charge him; and the affair being brought to a trial some years after, Sylla was defended upon this head by Hortensius, and acquitted. As to what regards Antronus, it is certain that he had entered into engagements with Catilina, who was actually accused of extortion. They associated with them Cn. Piso, a young man

of birth, but factious, and one whom indigence and ambition made capable of undertaking any thing. Their plan was, according to Sallust, to kill the two consuls, Cotta and Torquatus, in the capitol itself on the first of January: after which Catilina and Antronus were to seize the consular fasces, and to send Cn. Piso into Spain in quality of prætor, and with a good army.

Suetonius adds circumstances entirely material, that even change something in the facts. He says, that Cæsar and Crassus were suspected to have entered into this black conspiracy; and that they intended, after having massacred the consuls and principal persons of the senate, to make Crassus dictator, Cæsar master of the horse, and to restore the consulship to Sylla and Antronus. I have already said, I cannot believe that Cæsar, whose disposition was always far from cruel, could have had a hand in so horrid a design. I might say almost as much of Crassus. However it does not seem impossible, but that they were informed of Catilina's projects; and that leaving the odium of the crime to him, they perhaps designed to reap the fruits of it themselves. As for Catilina, Antronus, and Piso, it is certain, that their scheme was to kill the consuls on the first of January; and that having missed their aim, because the secret had taken air, and a guard had been given those magistrates, they had postponed the execution of their plot to the fifth of February following. But there was a misunderstanding between the conspirators, which rendered that criminal enterprise abortive.

A.R. 687.  
Ant.C 65.

L. AURELIUS COTTA.

L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

No enquiry was made into facts of so great weight; and the senate having resolved to form a decree against those, whom all the world considered as criminal, a tribune of the people put the negative upon it. Piso was even sent to Spain on Crassus's interest, who was desirous to provide himself a support against Pompey's power, that gave him great umbrage. It is also said that Cæsar conspired again with Piso, and that they had agreed, that the one should endeavour to make Spain revolt, and the other Cisalpine Gaul. But all these projects were frustrated by Piso's death, who was assassinated almost on his arrival in his province, either because the Spaniards could not bear his cruelty and arrogance, or the murderers were Pompey's clients, who thereby ridded him of an adversary, that was set up against him.

*Catiline  
is acquitted  
of the  
accusation  
of extortion.*

Cic. pro  
P. Sylla.  
n. 81.

Cic. de  
Hor.  
Resp.  
n. 42.

Catiline, who was more criminal than Piso, was besides prosecuted juridically for the crime of extortion, that subsisted against him. But though he was under the publick hatred for the horrid conspiracy he had lately set on foot, though convicted of rapines and robberies committed in his province, he was however acquitted. What is most surprizing, is, that the consul Torquatus, whom he had designed to assassinate, made interest for him, and was present at his trial to solicit the judges in his behalf. Clodius, his accuser, assisted him very much in obtaining his cause. If we believe Cicero, in effect of a bribe, he preva-



prevaricated shamefully, and by an infamous A.R. 687  
 collusion preserved a criminal, whom he pre- Ant C. 65  
 tended to prosecute in order to his punish-  
 ment. Catilina having escaped so great a  
 danger, was not the less determined in his  
 wickedness: on the contrary, he pursued his  
 scheme to the utmost, and augmented his par-  
 ty continually. But before we proceed to re-  
 late the consequences of these measures, it is  
 necessary to give the facts a place here, that  
 regard the consulship of Cotta and Torqua-  
 tus, and in the first place to speak of Cæsar's  
 ædileship.

We have seen what suspicions fell upon Cæ- Cæsar,  
 sar on the occasion of Catilina's enterprizes. when æ-  
 Those suspicions did not alter his interest with dile, gives  
 the people, and the ædileship supplied him magnifi-  
 with new means of augmenting it. It was a cent shews  
 part of the duty of ædiles to exhibit Games or to the  
 Theatrical representations. Cæsar acquitted people.  
 himself in that respect with a magnificence, Suet Cæs.  
 that surpassed every thing of that kind which c. 10.  
 had ever been seen 'till then. He also caused Plut.  
 deer to be hunted in the Circus. Amongst Cæs.  
 these different shews, there were some of Dio.  
 which the expence was in common between  
 himself and Bibulus his colleague; and others,  
 which he gave on his own account, that occa-  
 sioned the honour of the whole to be ascribed  
 to him. He besides eclipsed Bibulus in so  
 many other respects, that it is no wonder he  
 had the sole advantage, even of what they  
 did in common. Bibulus complained of his  
 lot, and said agreeably enough, " that the  
 " same thing had happened to him as to Pol-  
 " lux, who had half of the temple built on  
 " the forum in honour of the two brothers,

AR 687. "and however was universally forgot, that  
 Ant C 65. "temple being always called only the temple  
 "of Castor." This circumstance, joined with  
 the difference of characters, produced an enmi-  
 ty between Cæsar and Bibulus, which was after-  
 wards carried to the utmost excesses.

Cæsar, under pretence of doing honour to his  
 father's memory, again during his ædileship, gave  
 combats of gladiators, to the number of three  
 hundred and twenty pair, and he had provided  
 many more. But an alarm having spread in  
 the city on that occasion, because it was ap-  
 prehended that he might make another use  
 of those gladiators, than he declared, the senate  
 passed a decree to fix the number of gladiators,  
 that should be allowed to fight in these games.

Plin. Pliny relates, that in these very games Cæsar  
 xxxiii. 3. set the first example which was ever seen in  
 Rome, of making all the ornaments of the  
 amphitheatre in silver.

*He places  
 the statues  
 of Marius  
 in the ca-  
 pitol.* All this magnificence has absolutely nothing  
 singular in it, and which is not to be found  
 in others. But the following is a circum-  
 stance, that characterizes Cæsar. I have said,  
 that his constant plan was to revive the faction  
 of Marius. With this view, when he had  
 prepossessed the minds of the multitude in  
 his favour by games and shews, he seized  
 that occasion for placing in the capitol, during  
 the night, the statues of Marius, which he had  
 caused to be made secretly, with victories  
 adorned with trophies, and inscriptions, that  
 celebrated the conqueror of the Cimbri. At  
 the break of day, the splendour of those sta-  
 tues, which were master-pieces of art, and  
 at the same time finely decorated with gild-  
 ing, drew thither an infinite concourse of  
 spectators:

spectators: and every body admired so bold A R 687.  
 an act, of which the author was immediately Ant. C 65.  
 known by all the world. Many however Difference  
 considered this step as an enormous crime, of opinion  
 that reproduced honours to the eyes of the in respect  
 publick, abolished by the decrees of the se- to so bold  
 nate. *It is, said they, an essay of Cæsar's for*  
*paving the way to the tyranny. He is for try-*  
*ing what we are capable of bearing with pa-*  
*tience; and the success of the present enterprize*  
*will embolden him to form new ones, still more*  
*bold and dangerous.* The partisans of Marius,  
 on the contrary, encouraged by an event so  
 grateful to them, and so little expected, came  
 flocking from all parts, and by their number  
 astonished those, who believed them almost  
 annihilated, because they did not dare to shew  
 themselves. They filled the capitol, which  
 they made resound with their acclamations.  
 Many even melted into tears at the sight of  
 those statues, proscribed from the time of  
 Sylla's dictatorship: and charmed with Cæsar,  
 they cried out, that he was the only one, who  
 worthily sustained the honour of being allied  
 to Marius.

The affair was laid before the senate, and Famous  
 made a great noise there. It was upon this saying of  
 occasion, that Catulus made this famous re- Catulus.  
 flexion: *It is time, Fathers, to take care of*  
*ourselves. It is no longer by undermining and*  
*sap, but by open assaults, that Cæsar attacks the*  
*commonwealth.* The reflexion was just. The  
 government was at that time founded upon  
 the laws and institutions of Sylla; and it was  
 not possible to revive the party of Marius,  
 without introducing a general subversion of  
 all



A. R. 687. all things. But Cæsar, with that strong and  
 Ant. C. 65. perswasive eloquence, which he so well knew  
 how to employ, illuded the reproaches of  
 Catulus, and even gained the approbation of  
 the senate.

*Cæsar en-* He however miscarried in the design he  
*deavours* formed of getting himself sent into Egypt,  
*irrefectu-* on the occasion of the troubles, which had  
*ally to* arose in that kingdom, and of the right,  
*cause him-* that, according to some, the commonwealth  
*self to be* might pretend to it. This is a very obscure  
*sent into* point in history, concerning which I am go-  
*Egypt.* ing briefly to give such an account, as seems  
 most probable.

*Succession* After the death of Ptolomy Lathyrus, the  
*of the kings* Egyptians placed Cleopatra his daughter upon  
*of Egypt* the throne. Sylla, then dictator, had with  
*from La-* him Ptolomy Alexander the son of another  
*thyrus.* Alexander, brother of Lathyrus, who died  
*Will of A-* before him, and sent that young prince into  
*lexander* Egypt to reign there jointly with Cleopatra.  
 III. But Alexander in nineteen days time caused  
 Porphy. Cleopatra to be murdered, and was killed  
 Gr. apud himself by the people of Alexandria, whom  
 Euseb. so horrid a cruelty had enraged against him.  
 Appian. I suppose, that this Alexander left a son of  
 Mithrid. the same name, who had well-founded pre-  
 & de B. tensions to the kingdom of Egypt, as his fa-  
 Cir. L. 1. ther and grandfather had reigned over it, and  
 Pict besides which, the legitimate posterity of La-  
 Craſſo. thyrus was extinct by the death of Cleopa-  
 Cic. I & tra. However the Egyptians acknowledged  
 H. n. Rull Ptolomy Auletes, the natural son of Lathyrus,  
 king. I further suppose, that the divisions,  
 which happened in Egypt, whilst Pompey  
 was making war in Asia, and which occasi-  
 oned



oned the sending of embassies to that general, A.R. 687.  
 arose from the opposite pretensions of Alexan- Ant.C.65.  
 der III. and Auletes. Pompey would not take  
 cognizance of this difference. Ptolomy Auletès  
 continued in possession of the throne; and A-  
 lexander reduced to retire to Tyre, died there  
 soon (a) after.

News came to Rome, that Alexander at  
 his death had by his will left the senate and  
 people of Rome all his right to the inheri-  
 tance of the Lagides, that is to Egypt, and  
 the isle of Cyprus. It is difficult to decide,  
 whether this will be true or false. Cicero Cic. II. in  
 mentions it in one of his orations, but with- Roll.  
 out being willing to explain himself clearly.  
 Certain it is, that the senate passed an act of  
 inheritance, and sent deputies to Tyre, to take  
 possession of the money deposited there by  
 Alexander.

I therefore believe, that Cæsar was for making  
 this will take place, and in consequence to  
 cause a commission to be given him for  
 reducing Egypt and the isle of Cyprus into  
 a Roman province. He was supported in  
 this project by Crassus, then Censor, with  
 whom he seems at that time to have been in

(a) *Usher and Prideaux, whom Mr Rollin has followed in his Ancient History, give us a different succession to the crown of Egypt from Lathyrus: but from a note upon Dr Prideaux, I think it evident, that Usher's opinion is not to be sustained. Grævius, in a note upon the first Agrarian of Cicero, mentions the third Ptolomy Alex-* *ander of whom I speak in this place. I thought this a point necessary to be cleared up: and I know nothing more proper for reconciling the united testimonies of Porphyry, Appian, Suetonius, Plutarch, and especially of Cicero, than the plan which I follow. This system connects all the fragments, which we find detached in different authors.*

strict

A. R. 687. strict union.. But he found obstacles from Ca-  
 Ant. C. 65. tulus, Crassus's colleague, and from several  
 others of the principal persons of the city, who  
 maintained, that there was no such will in being;  
 and besides, that it was not for the honour of  
 the Roman people to seem greedy of the in-  
 heritances of kings, and desirous to engross all  
 kingdoms to themselves. These latter carried  
 it, and Cæsar missed his aim. This affair will  
 have consequences, which seemed to acquire the  
 explanation I have endeavoured to give in this  
 place.

*Crassus* I have said that Catulus and Crassus were  
*and Catu* censors. They scarce discharged any function of  
*lus cenſors* that office. There was neither a *cenſus*, review  
*differ* of the knights, nor list of the senators prepared.  
*with each* A division had arose between them, as well in  
*other, and* respect to Egypt, of which I have been speak-  
*abdicate.* ing, as to the people of Gallia Transpadana,  
*Plut* whom Crassus, supported by Cæsar, was for  
*Crasso.* making Roman citizens; which Catulus would  
*Suet. Cæſ.* not suffer. It was impossible to reconcile them  
 in any thing except abdicating their office, as  
 they actually did.

*Tenacious-* Catulus, whilst he continued censor, drew  
*ness of Ca-* upon himself a difference with Cato, who was  
*to, in re-* quæstor the same year. Cato had underta-  
*king the* ken to reform and reduce the registers, who  
*solicitation* often under his predecessors had acquired great  
*of Ca-* riches, and committed much injustice. He  
*12 43.* undertook one in particular, who had the pro-  
*Plut. Cat.* tection of Catulus, and engaged that grave  
*Min.* magistrate to go to the quæstor's office to  
 solicit for him Catulus, who was censor,  
 highly respected for his virtue, and the friend  
 of Cato in consequence of the conformity of  
 their sentiments and conduct, assured himself  
 of

of succeeding in what he desired without difficulty. But Cato represented to him, and proved, that the person, for whom he interested himself, was criminal. Catulus having nothing to reply, persisted however in asking favour for the register on his account. A language, so contrary to Cato's principles, gave the young quæstor occasion for making him a serious remonstrance, upon acting so inconsistently with his dignity and virtue. Catulus however not receding, Cato changed his tone, and said to him: *It would be a great shame for you, Catulus, censor as you are, and charged with the inspection of our manners, if I should order my serjeants to make you quit the place.* On these words, Catulus, at the same time confused and angry, opened his mouth as if to reply; but having nothing reasonable to say, he retired much out of countenance. He however acted in such a manner, that the register was pardoned. But Cato still persevered in employing that officer no more, and even deprived him of his salary.

Cato is so important a personage, that, on the occasion of his entrance into the publick offices, I conceive the reader must be pleased with having the picture in this place after Plutarch, of the first years of that rigid friend to virtue. This will be a kind of relief and consolation, in the midst of the vices, that deluge the history of the times of which I am writing.

Cato, known among us under the name of *Cato's* Cato of Utica, was great-grandson of Cato *family.* the censor, and descended from a son, which  
that

A. R 687. that first of the Cato's had in his old age,  
 Ant. C. 65. by a second marriage with the daughter of  
 one of his clients. Our Cato had one sister  
 both by his father and mother's side, who was  
 called Porcia. His mother had had children  
 by a former marriage; a son, whose name  
 was Servilius Cæpio, and several daughters,  
 of whom the most known is the mother of  
 Brutus. All these children were orphans whilst  
 very young, and were brought up in the house  
 of the famous tribune Drusus, their uncle by  
 the mother's side.

*His in-  
 fancy.*

Vol. IX.

From his most tender infancy Cato shewed  
 what he would be one day. The air of his  
 countenance, the tone of his voice, his look,  
 and his very manner of behaviour in the games  
 and amusements of his age, every thing in  
 him denoted a serious, solid genius, and great  
 constancy of mind. His resolutions were  
 firm and vigorous. Rough and inaccessible  
 as he was to flattery, he was less capable of  
 giving way to fear. I have related elsewhere,  
 his tenacious resistance of all the menaces and  
 arts of terror, employed by Pompeius Silo  
 to make him change his mind; and that sin-  
 gular circumstance of Cato's infancy, is a good  
 proof of the future intrepidity of his charac-  
 ter. He laughed little and seldom. He was  
 not subject to those little emotions of anger,  
 that die almost as soon as born in most chil-  
 dren: But when he was once really incensed,  
 it was in earnest, and it was not easy to ap-  
 pease him. In other respects he was humane  
 and docile; he readily obeyed his tutors; but  
 he asked reasons for every thing: and (a) his

(a) Ἡ γὰρ γένεσις ὁ παιδαγωγὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ λόγον ἔχων  
 ὅς ἐστιν ὁ Πλάτων.

governour,



governour, a man who knew the world, and chose rather to employ reason than blows with his disciple, did nor fail to satisfy such a child's curiosity. A.R. 687.  
Ant.C.65.

This steady character was far from having any mixture of brutal or unnatural in it. He tenderly affected his brother: and in his earliest years, on being asked whom he loved best, he answered, his brother. On being asked again, who held the second place in his affection, he said his brother; and the same question being frequently repeated, he still made no other reply, 'till the person, who interrogated him gave over. This affection increased with age: and when Cato was twenty years old, he never supped, went any journey, nor appeared in the forum, without his brother. He however distinguished himself from him, in not using perfumes; and in all the rest of his conduct he was strict and severe. Accordingly Cæpio, when he heard himself praised for his prudence and regularity, said, that when compared with others, he might indeed deserve some applause: *but* added he, *when I consider myself with Cato, I seem an (a) Apicius.* *His tender affection for his brother.*

To put together here all that relates to Cato's love for his brother, I shall add, that Cæpio being a legionary tribune, in the war of Spartacus under the consuls Gellius and Lentulus, Cato went to serve in the same army. Some years after, Cato himself was a legiona-

(a) *The Greek text has Sip-pius, a name unknown, and which may very easily be a corruption of Apicius, a famous glutton, as every body knows.*

A.R. 687. ry Tribune in the army of Macedonia: and  
 Ant.C.65 his brother, who had undoubtedly no employ-  
 ment, desiring to make a tour in Asia, fell  
 sick at Enus in Thrace. As soon as Cato re-  
 ceived that news, though the season was very  
 bad, he resolved to set out from Theffa-  
 lonica, where he was; and not being able  
 to procure a large ship, he threw himself into  
 a small bark with two friends, and three  
 slaves. He was in very great danger, and  
 escaped the storm only by unexpected good  
 fortune. On arriving at Enus; he found his  
 brother dead. Grief seemed to triumph over  
 all his philosophy. He not only shed tears  
 in abundance, embraced the dead body, and  
 fell into a black melancholy; but he also ex-  
 pended great sums in the funeral of his bro-  
 ther, in perfumes and rich stuffs, that were  
 burnt with him. And lastly, he caused a mo-  
 nument of the most precious marble to be  
 erected to him in the forum of Enus, that  
 cost him eight \* talents. This was however  
 only a cenotaph, or empty tomb, as will ap-  
 pear from the sequel.

\* About  
 1200 L  
 sterling.

These expences gave occasion for unjust re-  
 proaches from some people, who pretended,  
 that they did not suit the modesty and simpli-  
 city Cato professed in other respects. But  
 they did not know, says Plutarch (a), what  
 a fund of good nature and tender affection  
 subsisted with a courage in other respects so  
 lofty; and how accessible the same man was

(a) Οὐ καθορῶντες, ὅσον τις ἀγναμπτῶ καὶ σεμνῶ  
 ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἡδονὰς, καὶ φό- τὸ ἀνδρὸς τὸ ἡμέρον ἐν ἡ-  
 βῆτι, καὶ δεισιεὶς ἀγασχὺ- καὶ φιλόσοφον.

to the sentiments of kindness and nature, who A R. 687.  
 was invincible either to pleasure, terror, dan- Ant C.65.  
 ger, or the importunity of friends, contrary to  
 justice.

He shewed no less generosity than goodness of heart upon this occasion. The neighbouring states and princes sent him great presents to honour Cæpio's memory. He would not accept money, and used the perfumes and other things of the like nature, but not without ascribing the honour of them to those from whom he had them. His brother's fortune was to have been divided, (for what reason is not said) between him, and a daughter then an infant, whom Cæpio left behind him. In the division Cato did not bring the expences he had been at for the tomb into the account.

It was therefore very wrongfully, that (a) Cæsar long after accused him (no doubt in his *Anti-Catones*) of having sifted his brother's ashes in search of the gold dust, that might have been found in them from the rich brocades, which had been burnt with Cæpio's body. This reproach, as Plutarch observes, only proves, that Cæsar thought every thing as lawful to his pen, as to his sword.

And in the last place, when Cato, after his voyage to Asia, of which I shall speak below, embarked to return to Rome, his friends advised him to put the urn, that contained his brother's ashes, on board another ship, and

(a) Cæsar is not named in that text is, Cæsar is sufficiently described in it. Plutarch's text, as we do here. But as different as

A.R. 687 not that which carried himself. Cato refused  
 Ant.C. 65. it, and declared, that they should sooner deprive him of his life, than of those ashes, which were so dear to him, and that he would confide the care of carrying them back to Italy to nobody but himself.

*Cato's ardour for the stoick philosophy*

I return to Cato's studies. The stoick philosophy had too great a resemblance to his own character, not to engage him in a very peculiar manner. He studied the principles of it under Antipater of Tyre, and applied himself to them with extreme ardour; not (*a*) for the sake of learning to discourse from them as most others did, but to direct his life by them. As he was full of a kind of enthusiasm for every thing that related to virtue, he neglected no part of it. He had however a natural love or prejudice for constancy in the defence of justice, and for that noble inflexibility, which does not suffer itself to be softened either by favour, or any respect to persons. His zeal for stoicism was so great, that whilst he was a legionary tribune in Macedonia, having heard talk of a famous stoick, called Athenodorus, who had retired in the neighbourhood of Pergamus much advanced in years, had constantly rejected the solicitations of several princes and kings, and could never be persuaded to abandon his retreat, he determined to attach him to himself at any price. He relied enough upon his virtue not to despair of succeeding in that wherein so many others had miscarried. But

(*a*) Hæc Cato arripuit: magna pars, sed ita vivendi. neque disputandi causa, ut Cic. *pro Mur.* n. 62.



he did not however think it an affair to be A R. 687.  
 treated by letters. He took the advantage Ant. C. 65.  
 of a furlow for two months, which was not  
 irregular for making a journey to Pergamus,  
 and having overcome the opposition of Athe-  
 nodorus, he brought him away, and returned  
 with him to the camp, more proud and elate  
 with his victory, than Pompey and Lucullus  
 were from having subjected nations and king-  
 doms.

Cato cultivated eloquence, as a necessary *He applies*  
 means for defending the rights of justice, and *himself to*  
 for enforcing good counsels. He seems how- *eloquence.*  
 ever to have concealed it; for he did not ex-  
 ercise himself in it with other young persons  
 of his age, and no body ever heard him de-  
 claim. Neither did he court occasions for  
 producing himself; so that one of his friends  
 said to him one day, *You are blamed for your*  
*silence. With all my heart,* replied Cato, *pro-*  
*vided they find nothing to blame in my conduct.*  
*I shall begin to speak, when I am capable of*  
*doing so, without deserving to be condemned to*  
*silence.*

He however believed it incumbent upon  
 him to defend, by a publick action, a monu-  
 ment of his name and family. It was the  
 custom for the tribunes of the people to give  
 their audiences in the Porcian *Basilica*, or Great  
 Hall, which had been erected by Cato the  
 censor: and as there was a column in it, that  
 interfered with their seats, they undertook to  
 take it down, or remove it. Young Cato  
 opposed it, and made a speech on the occasi-  
 on, which gave an idea highly to the advan-  
 tage both of his eloquence, and the elevation  
 of his sentiments. His style had nothing in

AR 687. it that resembled the common taste of his  
 Ant.C.65. age, no flowers, no studied ornaments: it was  
 simple and equal, full of things, and grave  
 even to severity. For the rest, the brevity of  
 the turn he gave his thoughts, was however  
 pleasing, and the gravity that formed the ba-  
 sis of his character, was tempered on this oc-  
 casion by the nature of the cause he defended,  
 and supplied him with the means of concili-  
 ating the favour of his hearers. They were  
 charmed to see a young man express a warm  
 and tender concern for the memory of the  
 most illustrious of his ancestors. His voice  
 was strong and capable of making him heard  
 by so great a people; and at the same time  
 sustained itself with such force, that no fatigue  
 was too much for it. It frequently happened  
 for Cato to speak a whole day together with-  
 out being either exhausted, or tired. He had  
 the success he desired in his affair against  
 the tribunes; after which he resumed his  
 usual silence, and devoted himself again to his  
 studies.

*He takes  
 pains to  
 increase  
 his  
 strength,  
 and enure  
 his body.*

He not only cultivated his mind; he la-  
 boured also to strengthen and enure his body  
 in an useful manner, capable of being re-  
 duced to practice. Hence he accustomed him-  
 self to bear heat and cold, to receive both the  
 sun-shine and snow upon his bare head, to  
 walk on foot not only by way of exercise, but  
 on journeys, and that in all seasons. His  
 friends, who accompanied him, were on horse-  
 back: and Cato on foot sometimes joined one  
 and sometimes another, for the sake of con-  
 versing as they travelled. When he was sick,  
 he knew no remedy, but patience and tempe-  
 rance.

rance. He shut himself up, and saw no body 'till he was well. A. R. 687.  
Ant. C. 65.

At his table he suffered no distinction between him and those he admitted to be his guests. And during a great while he was very sober at it, drinking only one glass after repast, and then he retired. But he insensibly accustom- He ac-  
customs  
himself to  
drinking to  
excess.  
ed himself to drink a great deal, and to sit at table often 'till morning. His friends excused him with saying, (a) that being employed all the day in the affairs of the commonwealth without allowing himself any relaxation, he had only the night for enjoying the pleasure of the conversation of men of learning and philosophers. Accordingly one Memmius desiring in an assembly to reproach Cato with this practice, and having said *that he passed whole nights in drinking*, Cicero took upon himself his defence, and said to that censurer: *But however you cannot reproach him with passing whole days at dice.* This is the best, that could be said for saving Cato's honour.

After all, this apology, though weak enough Plin. Ep.  
III. 12.  
in itself, loses all it's force absolutely, if it be true, as Cæsar laid to his charge, that he went so far as to make himself drunk, I do not know, whether upon the credit of an enemy we may believe the circumstance I am going to relate. But Cæsar wrote that Cato had been found drunk at the corner of a street, by a troop of people, who were going early in the morning according to custom to the levy of some great man; and that when they knew who he was, by uncovering his face, they

(a) Cato vino laxabat animum, curis publicis fatigatum.  
*Sen. de Tranq. Anim. n. 3.*

A. R. 687. blushed for shame. *You (a) would have thought, Ant. C. 65* added he, *not that they had taken Cato tardy, but be them.* Piny justly observes, that by this reflexion Cæsar (b) praises at the same time that he blames his enemy. But it is not the less true, that the vice of drunkenness, which is that of porters and the lowest of the mob, exceedingly disparaged the gravity of such a personage as Cato. It is not only absurd, but a thought destructive of all morality, which (c) Seneca, his extravagant panegyrist and almost adorer, ventures to advance, that it is easier to make drunkenness a virtue, than Cato vicious.

He took  
pleasure  
and was  
contrary to  
the course  
of his age

He was certainly a person singular in his way, and one in whom all things whatsoever are far from being imitable. For instance, I reckon of the nature of absurdity, though in a point of much less moment, the plan he had laid down to himself of acting directly contrary to the taste and fashions of his age in indifferent things. Hence, because he saw that purple of a bright and lively colour was the mode, he chose it of a dark and deep dye. He often appeared in publick in the middle of the day only in a vest and slippers. Plutarch in vain observes, that Cato assumed no glory to himself from these singularities, but that he was desirous to accustom himself not to be ashamed of any thing, that was not really shameful. The wise and judicious man, who is conscious, that he is sufficiently singular

(a) Putares, non ab illis Catonem, sed illos à Catone deprehensos.

(b) Ita reprehendit ut laudet.

(c) Catoni ebrietas objecta est. Faciliùs efficiet, quisquis objecerit, hoc crimen honestum, quam turpem Catonem. Sen. *ibid.*

by



by the practice of the necessary virtues, thinks A.R. 687.  
it below him to differ from the publick taste Ant.C.65,  
in trifles. Universal customs, when innocent,  
are things to which he conforms implicitly.

Cato's greatness of soul and constancy are His  
undoubtedly admirable. But he sometimes haughty  
united an haughtiness and contempt for others constancy.  
with them, which Seneca would fain make  
a matter of praise, but which none will come  
into, that know how to distinguish between  
pride and virtue. "Cato, says (a) Seneca,  
"having received a blow in the face, was  
"neither angry, nor took revenge: he did  
"not even pardon the affront, but denied that  
"he had received it." And his thought, ac-  
cording to his interpreter, was, that virtue  
raised him so high, injury could not reach  
him. "He shewed more greatness of mind,  
"in Seneca's opinion, in not acknowledg-  
"ing, that he had been offended, than if  
"he had pardoned the offence. (b) It  
"was, added he elsewhere, the most insulting  
"kind of revenge, to think the injurer not  
"worth his anger. Many make a wound,  
"slight in itself, deeper by desiring to re-  
"venge it. He is truly great, who like the  
"lion, hears without deigning to regard the  
"idle yelping of little curs." So lofty a  
constancy of mind, and at the same time so

(a) Cato quum illios per-  
cussus esset, non excanduit,  
non vindicavit injuriam, ne  
remisit quidem, sed factam  
negavit. Majore animo non  
agnovit, quam agnovisset.  
*Sen. de Constant Sap. n. 14.*

(b) Ultionis contumelio-  
sissimum genus est, non esse

visum dignum ex quo pete-  
retur ultio. Multi leves in-  
urias altius sibi demisere,  
dum vindicant. Ille mag-  
nus & nobilis est, qui, more  
magnæ feræ, latratus minu-  
torum canum securus exaudit.

*Id. de Ira. L. II. n. 32.*

A.R. 687. conformable to the stoick school, is a manifest  
 Ant.C.65. proof, that human philosophy, *or the dim light*  
*of nature*, only corrects one vice by another.

*The entire* These spots in the life of Cato are no rea-  
*prudence of* son for not considering him as one of the  
*his youth* most virtuous pagans, that ever lived. Ac-  
*He mar-* cordingly, for instance, it is no vulgar praise,  
*ries.* that in a corrupt city, and under a licentious religion, he passed his youth with perfect prudence, and knew no love, but the legitimate passion for his wife. He first courted Lepida, who had been promised to Metellus Scipio: but the marriage did not take place; because when Cato's was upon the point of being concluded, Scipio interfered, and the preference was given to him. This affront extremely exasperated our philosopher. He was for going to law with Scipio: and his friends having shewn him the ridicule of such a design, he could not refrain however from revenging himself in Iambicks, in which he imitated the sharpness of Archilochus, but not his licentiousness and obscenities. When this flame subsided, he married Atilia, the daughter of Serranus. But not so fortunate as Lælius, the friend of the second Scipio Africanus, it was not in his power to make this first, her only, engagement; and his wife being found to have less prudence than himself, he was obliged to repudiate her after having had two children by her.

*He had* He was married at the time he went into  
*served as* Macedonia in quality of legionary tribune.  
*a volun-* I have said, that he had served before as a  
*teer in the* volunteer under the consul Gellius in the war  
*war with* of Spartacus, and from thenceforth had made  
*Spartacus.* himself the object of admiration and envy.

Luxury

Luxury and bad discipline prevailed in the Ro- A.R. 687.  
man army. Cato drew all eyes upon him by Ant.C.65.  
his simplicity and modesty, united with all the  
courage necessary on dangerous occasions, and  
frequent proofs of a superior genius. His re-  
fusal of the military rewards offered him by  
Gellius, and which he denied that he had de-  
served, seemed very extraordinary ; so that even  
those who admired him, found that an example  
did not suit them, which seemed noble and  
great indeed, but above imitation.

When he set out for Macedonia, he carried *He serves*  
fifteen slaves, two freedmen, and four friends, *as a legio-*  
along with him. Throughout the whole jour- *nary tri-*  
ney, as often as he travelled by land, he went *bune in*  
on foot, whilst his friends were on horseback. *Macedo-*  
Being arrived at the army, “ and (a) charged *nia. His*  
“ by his general Rubrius with the command *admirable*  
“ of a legion, he thought it his duty, as an *conduct in*  
*that office.*

(a) Ἐννὸς τάγματι ἀφ-  
χων ἀποδεδυμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς  
στρατηγικῆς τῆς μὲν ἰδίας ἀρε-  
τῆς μὲν ἴσης, μικρὸν ἔρ-  
γον ὑπεῖτο καὶ ἡ βασιλικῇ,  
τῇ ἐπιδείξειν αὐτῷ ὅτι ποίη-  
σαι τὰς ἀρχομένας ὁμοίως  
μάλιστα φιλοφρονέμεται, ἡ  
τὸν φόβον ἀφείλεν τῇ ἐξε-  
σίτι, ἀλλὰ προσέειπεν τὸν  
λόγον, ὃν περὶ τὸν καὶ διδάσ-  
κων, επομένης τιμῆς καὶ  
κολάσεως, χαλεπὸν ἦν εἰ-  
πεῖν πότερον εἰρημικὰς μὲν  
λογίας ἢ πολεμικὰς, ἢ παρὸν  
μοτέρως ἢ δικαιότερως πα-  
ρεσκεύασε τὰς ἀνδράς· ἡ-  
τας ἐφαίνοντο φερόμενοι μὲν  
τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἡμεῖς δὲ  
τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἀτολμοὶ δὲ  
πρὸς τὸ ἀδικεῖν, φιλονίκοι  
δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἐπαίνας.

Οὗ δὲ ἡκιστα Κάτων ἐπε-

μελήθην, τὸτο πλεῖστον αὐ-  
τῷ ὑπῆρχεν, καὶ δόξα, καὶ  
χρῆσις, καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσα τι-  
μή καὶ φιλοφροσύνη παρὰ τῇ  
στρατιωτικῇ, ἀλλὰ ἑτέροις ἐπε-  
ταττεν, ἐκεῖνος διαπονῶν,  
καὶ πολλὴν μὲν καὶ διαίταν καὶ  
πορείαν κείνους μᾶλλον ἢ  
τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ὁμοίωμεν, ἡ-  
θε δὲ καὶ φρονήματι καὶ λόγῳ  
πάντας ὑπεραίρων τὰς αὐ-  
τοκράτορας καὶ στρατηγικὰς πε-  
σαγορευομένας ἔλαθε διὰ  
τῶν αἵματι πρὸς αὐτὸν  
εὐνοίαν ἐργασάμεν τοῖς  
ἀνδράσιν ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀληθεί-  
ας ἐκ ἐγχείσεως ζῆλον εἰ-  
μὴ δι' ἀκέρως τὴν παρεδί-  
δόντες εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς· οἱ  
δὲ ἀνέυ τῆς φιλείας ἐπαίνους  
τὰς ἀγαθὰς, αἰδέσθαι τῇ  
δόξαν αὐτῶν, ἢ θαυμάζειν  
τῇ ἀρετῇ, καὶ ἐκ μὲν τῆς

“ officer



A.R. 687. “ officer invested with a superior command,  
 Ant. C 65. “ not only to shew himself personally virtu-  
 “ ous, but that the question was to make those  
 “ under him such men as himself. To effect  
 “ this, he did not suppress the terror of com-  
 “ mand, but united reason and mildness with  
 “ it ; always proceeding by the method of  
 “ persuasion, and informing, both the sub-  
 “ altern officers and soldiers, with the motives  
 “ for every thing he gave them in orders ;  
 “ to which he added punishments and rewards,  
 “ according to their different behaviour. This  
 “ plan succeeded wonderfully : and it would  
 “ be hard to say, whether he made his sol-  
 “ diers more honest men and lovers of peace,  
 “ or better warriors ; more ardent for action,  
 “ or more docile out of respect to the laws  
 “ of justice. They were formidable to the  
 “ enemy, mild and amicable to the allies ;  
 “ timorous in respect to ill, but passionate  
 “ to excess for deserving praise.” What a  
 model is this for young commanders, and how  
 happens it, that such examples are so extraor-  
 dinary !

“ Cato, without having acted from any  
 “ view of private interest, had however  
 “ all the advantages his good conduct de-  
 “ served. Nothing could be added to the  
 “ sentiments of esteem, gratitude, respect, and  
 “ affection, which his soldiers had for him.  
 “ They saw him do voluntarily all that he  
 “ commanded others ; appear more like the  
 “ private soldiers than the officers in his ha-  
 “ bit, equipage, and manner of performing  
 “ marches ; and by the dignity of his man-  
 “ ners, the elevation of his sentiments, and  
 “ the superiority of his views, set himself  
 “ above



“ above all that bore the titles of generals A.R. 687.  
 “ and proconsuls. Cato by all this had no Ant.C. 65.  
 “ other design than to inculcate in them the  
 “ love of virtue, and without intending or  
 “ thinking of it, he inspired them with love  
 “ for himself, For the sincere love of virtue  
 “ does not enter the soul, without affection  
 “ and respect for those from whom it is learnt.  
 “ Those who content themselves with prai-  
 “ sing the worthy without loving them, pay  
 “ homage to their glory, but are neither ad-  
 “ mirers nor imitators of their virtue.” It  
 was during the time, that Cato was legionary  
 tribune in Macedonia, that his brother Cæpio  
 died.

When the term of his service expired, he  
 was attended at his departure, not in the midst  
 of vows and ejaculations, as happened to ma-  
 ny, but with expressions of grief and respect,  
 which may be considered as singular. All the  
 world were in tears; they embraced him with-  
 out being able to let him go, they kissed his  
 hands: the soldiers and people spread their  
 cloaths upon the ways through which he was  
 to pass. Can there be a more affecting joy,  
 than to see oneself in this manner the object  
 of universal love and esteem? If we compare  
 with this greatness, founded entirely upon me-  
 rit and virtue, the empty splendor that costs  
 so much to acquire by magnificent equipages,  
 and a luxurious table, what a difference do we  
 perceive!

Cato, before he returned to Rome, resolved Cato  
 to make the tour of Asia, to visit that fine makes the  
 country, make himself acquainted with the tour of  
 manners of the inhabitants, and learn with Asia His  
 his own eyes the strength of it's states and simplicity  
 provinces. and mild-ness,

A R. 687. provinces. He had also another motive. King  
 Ant. C. 65. Dejotarus earnestly desired him to come to his court: and as that prince was an ancient friend of his family, he would not refuse him that satisfaction. His manner of travelling was as follows. Far from imitating the pomp of other senators, who exacted magnificent receptions, and almost laid all the cities through which they passed under contribution, he industriously avoided putting any one to expence. He made his cook and baker set out early in the morning, that they might be at the place where he was to lie in good time. They entered the cities modestly and without noise; and if Cato had no acquaintance in them, they went contentedly to the inns, and got their master's supper ready. If there were no inns, they applied to the magistrate of the place, asked lodgings of him, and without objecting, took such as were assigned them. They were often treated with no manner of regard, because they neither murmured, nor used menaces; so that Cato found nothing ready when he arrived. His own appearance did not attract much respect; he sat silent on his baggage, and was taken for an obscure man, and one of little consequence. Sometimes however he assumed a tone suitable to his rank, and sending for the magistrates, said to them: *You wretches, mend this rudeness and indifference for the duties of hospitality. Every one who comes to your city, will not be a Cato. They only want a pretence for using violence on account of being neglected. Prevent the effect of their malignity by your civilities and respect.* The reader may remember his adventure before the gates of Antioch.

But

But Pompey's example, was a good correction for those, who treated Cato with neglect, and did not pay him the regard that was due to him. For that general, when he was (a) at Ephesus, seeing Cato coming to make his compliments to him, seemed to forget the superiority, which his dignities, victories, and the command of the finest army then in the Roman empire, gave him. He rose up, ran to meet him, gave him the highest praises in his presence, and still more when he withdrew: so that every body began to turn their eyes upon Cato, and to admire the very things, that had drawn contempt upon him, his simplicity, modesty, and that greatness of soul, which made him superior to all external pomp. What amazed them in particular, was to observe more respect than friendship in Pompey's behaviour: it was evident, that he admired him whilst present, and desired his absence. For instead of keeping him with him, as he had done all the other young Romans, who came to pay their respects to him, and making him stay some time in his house, he did not make that proposal to Cato; as if such a guest would have laid him under too much restraint, and that in his presence he should not have thought himself supreme and independent magistrate. Cato was also almost the only one of those, who went to Rome, to whom Pompey recommended his wife and children, whose relation indeed he was. From

A.R. 687.  
Ant.C.65.  
*Pompey gives him a reception, that teaches the states of Asia to respect him.*

(a) This fact cannot agree with the time Pompey went to Ephesus, after having re-established peace throughout the East. Pompey and Cato could only have met at Ephesus, at

the time of the war with the pirates, or in the interval between the conclusion of that war, and Pompey's departure to march against Mithridates.

thence-



A.R. 687. thenceforth, every body vied in paying their  
 Ant.C.65. court to Cato; cities as well as particulars emulated each other in expressing their regard; every body was for lodging him in their houses; every body invited him to entertainments. But neither these honours, nor the voluptuousness of Asia corrupted him; and he carried back to Rome all the austerity of his virtue.

*Dejotarus  
 cannot  
 prevail  
 upon him  
 to accept  
 presents.*

I have said, that king Dejotarus had desired the honour of a visit from him. That (a) prince's design was to contract a stricter union with him, and secure his family and children a powerful protector. Cato complied with his request, and went to see him. But Dejotarus being desirous to make him presents, and having used too warm instances to induce him to accept them, the severe Roman took so much offence, that having arrived in the evening, he only passed the night with his host, and went away the next day at three in the afternoon. Dejotarus was not disgusted, and Cato on arriving at Pessinus, found new presents, and a letter from that prince, who conjured him, either to accept them himself, or at least to permit his friends to divide them among them. *Your friends*, said he to him in his letter; *deserve to be sensible of the honour they have of being attached to you; and your fortune does not suffice to reward them according to their merit.* The friends of Cato suffered themselves to be tempted: but for himself he continued inflexible, and sent back the presents, saying, people never wanted pretences for accepting gifts,

(a) Plutarch says, that prince lived twenty five years  
 Dejotarus was then old, longer, he could not be of a  
 which can be only in comparison with Cato. For as that  
 very great age at this time.

that



that gratified their avidity ; and that he would A.R. 687.  
share with his friends, either what he already Ant.C.65.  
possessed, or should acquire by just and honou-  
rable methods.

After having visited all Asia and Syria, Cato *He pre-*  
returned to Rome, and at first divided his time *parees to*  
between his private studies with Athenodorus *stand for*  
the stoick, and the affairs of his friends in the *the quæf-*  
forum, 'till he thought proper to stand for the *torship.*  
quæstorship. We have seen what example Ca-  
to, when legionary tribune, has set young offi-  
cers : we are now going to see him the model  
for young magistrates. Before he set up as a  
candidate for the quæstorship, he exactly stu-  
died the duties and rights of the office to which  
he aspired. He read the laws relating to it.  
He consulted such as had knowledge and expe-  
rience of that kind. In a word, he made him-  
self perfectly master of all which regarded that  
dignity. Accordingly as soon as he entered into  
it, he made a great change amongst the subal-  
terns employed in the quæstor's office, and par-  
ticularly amongst the registers.

These officers, whose places were for life, *When*  
and through whose hands incessantly passed the *quæstor he*  
publick accounts, and all affairs, being to act *reforms,*  
under young magistrates, who usually, through *and re-*  
their ignorance and inexperience, had still oc- *duces the*  
casion for tutors, took upon them an air of *registers*  
importance ; and instead of being submissive *to their*  
to the orders of the quæstors, they pretended *duty.*  
to govern them, and to be themselves in some  
measure the magistrates. Cato, who did not  
bring with him into that employment only the  
name and title, but the capacity and informa-  
tion, taught those saucy registers their duty,  
and reduced them to the functions of simple  
officers,

A.R. 627. officers, who were to execute the orders of  
 Ant.C. 65. their superiors. They pretended to resist; and  
 making their court to the other quæstors, they  
 all combined against Cato alone. But as for  
 him, discovering the knavery of some, and  
 convincing others of their ignorance, he obliged  
 them all to give way. He even made one or  
 two examples of those who had been guilty of  
 malversations: and his constancy, an instance  
 of which we have given in respect to Catu-  
 lus, shewed, that there was no quarter to be  
 expected from him. Thus Cato reinstated or-  
 der, and himself and his colleagues in full pos-  
 session of all the rights, that appertained to their  
 charge. After this reform, he rendered the  
 quæstor's bench more august than the senate  
 itself; and it was commonly said, that Cato  
 had raised the office of quæstor to equal dig-  
 nity with the consulship.

*He shews  
 himself  
 just in pay-  
 ments,  
 circum-  
 spect as to  
 frauds,  
 and affi-  
 dous in  
 discharg-  
 ing all the  
 duties of  
 his office.*

The quæstors had the keeping of the trea-  
 sury, and the management of the public re-  
 venues. Cato discovered, that there were old  
 debts outstanding, as well from the common-  
 wealth to particulars, as from particulars to  
 the commonwealth. He put an end to that  
 disorder; and would neither admit, that the  
 state should do, or suffer, injustice: he ex-  
 acted with severity from those who were in-  
 debted, and speedily and willingly discharged  
 what was due: so that the whole people were  
 struck with amazement and respect for a ma-  
 gistrate, who reformed fraud, and did not know  
 what it was to commit it; who obliged those  
 to restore, that flattered themselves they should  
 retain, and restored to those, who had lost all  
 hope of receiving.

It

It was by the decrees of the consuls and senate, that the quæstors disbursed money. Many cheats had frequently crept in upon these occasions, to which his predecessors, induced by solicitations and intrigues, had shut their eyes. Cato would suffer nothing of this kind: and he carried his scruples so far, that one day, when a decree was presented to him, in respect to which there was some doubt, though several witnesses attested the validity of it, he would not suffer it to be entered upon his register, 'till the consuls themselves came to acknowledge and certify it upon oath.

A R. 687.  
Ant. C. 65.

One thing that extremely pleased the people, was his making the infamous assassins disgorge their gains, to whom Sylla had given considerable rewards out of the treasury for the murder of the proscribed. All the world detested them. Only Cato dared to attack them; and he took from them the cruel rewards they had received, reproaching them at the same time with all the horror and enormous blackness of their crimes.

He also acquired great applauses by his indefatigable assiduity, and strict exactness in respect to every thing that concerned the functions of his office. None of his colleagues ever came before him to the office, nor left it after him. He never failed to be present at every assembly both of the senate and people; in order to awe those, who by an ill-judged facility bestowed the publick money in largesses, and who frequently granted through favour either gratifications, or releases of sums due to the state. By a conduct so well sustained, Cato, on one side removing sycophants, and such as made a trade of oppressing the citizens



A.R. 687. by penalties and quirks of law for the advantage of the revenue; and on the other, filling the commonwealth's coffers with money, demonstrated, that the state might be rich without doing injustice to particulars.

*Opinion of his colleagues in respect to him.*

In the beginning his austerity and stiffness displeased his colleagues, but afterwards they were charmed with having his name to oppose to all the unjust solicitations, against which they would have found it difficult to defend themselves. Cato served them as an excuse, and very willingly took upon himself all the offence of refusals.

*Remarkable instance of his resolution in respect to one of them.*

The last day of his office, after having been reconducted home by almost all the citizens, he was informed that his colleague Marcellus, who had remained at the quæstor's office, was in a manner besieged there by a great number of powerful persons, who were for obtaining, or rather extorting, an unjust and unreasonable gratification from him. Marcellus had been Cato's friend from his infancy, and a good-natured man, but weak, and little capable of resisting intreaties and importunities. Cato returned to the office, and finding the affair over, and the instrument already drawn up and signed, he demanded that paper, and cancelled it in the presence of Marcellus, without the latter's saying one word. He afterwards carried him away, and went with him quite to his house: and Marcellus was so sensible, Cato was in the right, that he never made him any complaint or reproach on that head, and continued as much his friend as ever.

When he quitted his office of quæstor, he did not therefore become indifferent to what concerned



concerned the administration of the revenue. A.R. 687.  
 He made slaves keep him a journal of all the Ant.C.65.  
 affairs transacted in it. And for himself he laid  
 out five \* talents in registers, that contained the \* About  
 whole administration of the finances from Sylla 750  
 down to his quæstorship, and he turned them pounds.  
 over continually, in order to make himself perfectly master of them.

His fidelity in performing the duties of a senator, is something admirable. He was the first in the senate, and the last that left it. And as he frequently passed a considerable space of time before the house was assembled, he brought a book, and read 'till it began to deliberate. He never quitted the city during the days the senate was to be held. Pompey finding him afterwards always in his way, laid snares for him, and engaged him in different affairs, which sometimes obliged him to be absent. Cato soon perceived the design, and resolved to prefer his assiduity in the senate to every other occupation (a). For as it was neither the love of glory, the lucre of interest, nor a kind of chance, as was the case with many others, that had engaged him to mix in the publick affairs, but he applied himself to them out of principle; and because he was convinced, that a citizen owes himself to his country, he believed it his indispensable obligation to labour for the good of the state, with as much care and exactness as a bee does for the hive. Not contented with the objects and af-

*His punctual discharge of the duty of senator,*

(a) Οὐτε γὰρ δόξης λεως, ἀλλ' ὡς ἴδιον ἔργον  
 χάριν ἔτε πλεονεξίας, ἔτε ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τὴν πολι-  
 αὐτομαλῶς καὶ κατὰ τύχην, τείαν ἐλόμενος, μᾶλλον αἴτο  
 ὡς ἕτεροι τινές, ἐμπεισὼν δεῖν προσέχευε τοῖς κοι-  
 εἰς τὸ πράττειν τὰ τῆς πό- τοῖς, ἢ τῷ κηρίῳ ἢ μέλιτι ταν.

A R 65. fairs, which he had before his eyes, he made  
 Ant C. 5. his attention and vigilance extend to the provinces. He caused accounts to be sent him of all that passed in them: decrees, judgments, important events, and such as might have consequences, all was transmitted to him by his friends and acquaintance in the different parts of the Empire.

*His great  
 reputation.*

A conduct so excellent in all it's parts, gained him an astonishing reputation. His name was almost quoted like that of virtue itself. An advocate pleading one day said, "that a single  
 "witness would not suffice to support a cause,  
 "though it were Cato himself." And in the senate a vicious and debauched person having thought fit to speak in praise of simplicity and temperance, some body interrupted him in these terms: *Who can bear to bear you; you, who are as rich as Crassus, live like Lucullus, and talk like Cato.*

The severity, with which Cato had made the murderers of the proscribed refund the sums they had received from the treasury, made way for Cæsar to cause them to be condemned as guilty of murder. This perhaps is the only occasion of a publick nature, wherein Cato and Cæsar agreed in opinion. These condemnations passed in the year, when L. Cæsar and Figulus were consuls.

That of the consulship of Torquatus and Cotta is remarkable for the birth of the poet Horace,

A R. 66.  
 Ant. C. 4.

L. JULIUS CÆSAR.  
 L. MARCIUS FIGULUS.

Cæsar

Cæsar, on the expiration of his edileship, A R. 688. accepted, when he was become a private person, Ant C. 64. a commission for trying murtherers. He was in consequence what the Romans called *Index quæstionis*, that is, commissioner delegated to pre-<sup>Cæsar con- demn: those as guilt. of murder, who had killed the proscribed.</sup> side in the place of a prætor in trying causes, which fell within the jurisdiction of a certain province. He probably contrived to get this employment, in order to have occasion to in-<sup>Dio L. xxxvii.</sup> clude those in the case and punishment of mur-<sup>Suet. Cæs. c. 11.</sup> therers, who had killed the proscribed, though they were excepted by name in Sylla's laws. <sup>Cic. in Pug. Cand.</sup> He found them already condemned in some manner by Cato: and when they were brought & ibi Af- to his tribunal, he gave the people the satisfac- con. tion of seeing those barbarous wretches punished for the crimes they had before been rewarded for perpetrating. The catastrophe of these miscreants was matter of publick rejoicing. Their condemnation was considered as entirely obliterating the footsteps of tyranny, and as a revenge taken of Sylla in the persons of the ministers of his cruelty.

Amongst those who were condemned, was a *Catilina* is centurion, called L. Luscus, who had in-<sup>acquitted.</sup> riched himself in such a manner by Sylla's victory, that his fortune amounted to ten \* mil- \* <sup>About</sup> lions of sesterces. Bellicenius, Catilina's uncle, <sup>62,500 l.</sup> who had killed Lucretius (a) Ofella, was also condemned. But Catilina, who was more criminal than any one, was accused and acquitted. History does not tell us the reason of this inequality of the judges in causes so singular. We may conjecture, that Cæsar was too much

(a) I follow Asconius here. Ofella was killed by a centurion. Plutarch says, that Lucretius

A R 633 Catilina's friend, to be willing to destroy him.

Art C. 64 In effect of this sentence, Catilina, a man guilty of all crimes, who was actually forming an horrid conspiracy, had been three times tried on the heaviest charges, and as often acquitted, without ceasing to be considered as criminal, found himself in a condition to set up as a candidate for the consulship.

Cic. ad  
Art. C. 1. 1. Cicero, who had prepared the year before to stand during this for the same office, when he saw Catilina accused of extortion, had said, "that he should certainly have him for a competitor, if people should judge, that it was not light at noon-day." He was tried and acquitted: and afterwards seeing himself again accused, whether on the occasion of debauchery with the vestal Fabia, or of the murder of the proscribed, he applied to Cicero himself to be his defender. It is not certainly known whether Cicero pleaded so bad a cause; but it is certain, that he was not averse to undertak-

Alcon in ing it, and gave this for his reason: *Either I*  
Tog. Car. *shall occasion his being acquitted, and in that case*  
Cic. ad *shall have reason to rely upon more concurrence be-*  
Art. C. 1. 2. *tween him and me in standing for the consulship: or he will be condemned, and that will be my consolation.*

He stands  
forth  
con-  
sist-  
ent  
Cic-  
ero, and  
five other  
candi-  
dates.  
Alcon.  
Cicero and Catilina were the most conspicuous of the candidates; the first by his merit, and the other by his birth, sustained by an intriguing and audacious spirit. They had five competitors, Galba a Patrician and an honest man, but one of no great talents; C. Antonius, the son of the orator M. Antonius; L. Cassius, who conspired the following year with Catilina; and two others, whose names are not very famous in history. It soon appeared, that the election



election would lie between Cicero, Catilina, and A. R. 688. Antonius: and the two latter, supported by Ant. C. 64. Crassus and Cæsar, joined together, and united their factions, in order to exclude a formidable competitor, and to secure, the consulship to themselves. They carried on their corrupt canvassing with so much intolence and impudence, that all the people of worth in the city were incensed at it. The senate were desirous of a new law against canvassing, and to augment the severity of the punishments inflicted by former institutions. But a tribune, called Q. Mucius, opposed it. In the midst of the whole senate's indignation, occasioned by this opposition, Cicero rose up, and made a most virulent invective against Antonius. That discourse is not come down to us entire: we have only some fragments of it, which have been preserved by Asconius Pedianus.

In the mean time Catilina laboured in secret *Catilina* to promote the scheme of his conspiracy. The *applies* occasion seemed entirely favourable to him. *himself to* Pompey was in the East with the principal *promote* forces of the empire. There was no considerable army on foot in Italy. If therefore he *the scheme* could make himself consul with Antonius, as *of his* he was in hopes, he assured himself of being *conspiracy.* absolute master of the commonwealth. For *Sallust.* Antonius, without being desperately wicked, *Plut.* was one of those men, who through weakness *Cic.* are capable of being led into the greatest crimes. Indifferent of himself to vice or virtue, and formed to be governed by others, his good or bad conduct depended on those, who had the address to secure him. Accordingly Catilina assured himself with reason, that in such a col-

A R 638. league he should find a supple instrument to all  
 Ant.C.64. his designs.

Cic pro  
 Mar. 43.

The general disposition of the affairs of Rome and Italy gave him no less hopes. The universal corruption of manners, which I have repeated after Sallust, had occasioned a prodigious number of debts. The principal citizens were swallowed up by their frantick extravagances ; building magnificent theatres, feasts given the people, largesses to purchase votes : and all the money of the commonwealth was transferred into ignoble hands, that were not capable of a generous zeal for the service of the state. Sylla's soldiers, who had lavished with prodigality what they had acquired by violence, desired a new civil war. Another kind of men in a directly different case, I mean those, who had been ruined by Sylla's victory, no less desired a change that might establish their fortunes. The concurrence of so many circumstances seemed to invite Catilina to set the springs at work, which he had long been preparing.

He had  
 engaged  
 a great  
 number  
 of the  
 city, in  
 his  
 designs.

For during a great length of time he had industriously drawn about him all the villainous part of the city, and we have seen how great their numbers were. All those, who in the most shameful disorders had entirely squandered their fortunes ; all, who had contracted considerable debts to ransom themselves from the severity of the judges ; parricides, sacrilegious persons, those who had either been condemned for crimes, or deserved to be so ; those who subsisted only by murders and perjury ; and lastly, all such as debauchery, poverty, or remorse, incessantly distressed, and rendered enemies to tranquillity ; these

these and such as these formed the party and train of Catilina; who had spared no application to make them his friends and confidants. A.R. 688. Ant.C.64.

If it even happened, that he contracted a friendship with a person, whose manners were exempt from crimes, by the daily commerce with so many abandoned villains, and the force of sedition, he became by degrees like the rest (*a*). Catilina was particularly industrious in cultivating familiarities with young persons, whose simplicity and inexperience, susceptible of every kind of impressions, were easily ensnared by his arts. For according to his knowledge of their several tastes and inclinations, some he assisted in their criminal pleasures; for others he purchased dogs and horses: in a word, shame, honour, money, he spared nothing, that might render them docile to his purposes, and faithful to his interests. *His arts for corrupting youth.*

After having thus drawn them in, he formed them for the most atrocious crimes. He employed them to serve his friends as false witnesses, or to forge false wills and writings. He taught them to look upon honour, laws, reputation, and fortune, as nothing, and to be checked by no fear of danger. At length, proceeding gradually, when he had inured and confirmed them in ill, he compleated that fatal education, by accustoming them to the shedding of blood; and if there happened to be no body at that instant, of whom he desired to rid himself, he made them kill

(*a*) Maxumè adolescentium familiaritates appetebat. Forum animi molles, & æ-

tate fluxi, dolis haud difficulter capiebantur.



A. R 683. whom he thought fit indiscriminately, without  
 Ant.C.64. examining whether he had reason to hate them  
 or not, meerly for the sake of murthuring, and  
 that their hands and their audacity might not  
 slacken for want of practice.

I have entered into this detail, which gives  
 horror, because I know no example better  
 adapted to teach youth, how cautious they  
 ought to be of bad company, and in what  
 manner the lure of pleasure, which seems so  
 grateful, soon leads on those, who abandon  
 themselves to it, into the most dreadful ex-  
 cesses.

By these arts Catilina had corrupted the  
 greater part of the youth of Rome, and espe-  
 cially those of illustrious birth. Almost all of  
 them favoured his enterprizes : and through a  
 deplorable infatuation, whilst it was easy for  
 them, in effect of the publick tranquillity, to  
 live with magnificence and voluptuousness, they  
 preferred the uncertain to the certain, and war  
 to peace.

*Strength  
 of Catili-  
 na's party.*

From all that has just been related, it results,  
 that Catilina's party was formidable. He had  
 engaged in it senators, Roman knights, and  
 many of the most illustrious inhabitants of the  
 colonies and municipal cities of Italy. Be-  
 sides this great number of declared adherents,  
 he had secret partisans, whose motive was not  
 so much the bad condition of their affairs, and  
 indigence, as the desire of rule. These are  
 Sallust's terms, which may very well imply  
 Cæsar in particular amongst others. The same  
 author observes, that Crassus was privy to the  
 plot ; that his jealousy and fear of Pompey,  
 made him desire to have any powerful adversary  
 whatsoever to oppose to him ; and that he flat-  
 tered



tered himself, if the conspiracy succeeded, it A.R. 688. would not be difficult to possess himself of the Ant.C.64. first rank in that party.

Catilina also assured himself of the forces of Hetruria, which having been horridly used by Sylla, waited only an occasion for revolting. He also held intelligence with Cn. Piso in Spain, and with one Sittius, who having been prosecuted for some crime at Rome, had fled to Africa, and had there assembled a considerable body of troops. Piso failed him, having been killed in his province, as I have said above. As to Sittius, the distance of places, and the sudden ruin of Catilina, undoubtedly prevented him from declaring himself.

All these supports exalted Catilina's courage ; *He assembled the heads of his conspiracy in his house.* and inspired him with the desire of hastening the execution of his designs. Sallust adds a final motive ; the trouble of a conscience, continually agitated by the remembrance of his crimes. That (*a*) abominable wretch, the enemy of gods and men, says the historian, found no tranquillity either in action or rest, waking, or sleeping : so perpetually was he haunted by remorse. The perturbation of his soul, appeared in his aspect, and all his behaviour. A pale face, eyes wild and haggard, his gait sometimes hasty, and sometimes slow and heavy, all expressed inward discomposure and fury. Resolving therefore to put his scheme in execution, he assembled at his house about the beginning of June the heads of his party,

<p>(<i>a</i>) Animus impurus, diis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis, neque quietibus sedari poterat : ita conscientia mentem excitam vexabat.</p>	<p>Igitur colos ei exsangvis, fœdi oculi, citus modò modò tardus incessus : prorsus in facie vultuque vecordia inerat.</p>
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that

A.R. 688. that is, those who were at the same time both  
 Ant.C.64 the most miserable and the most audacious. Sallust names eleven of them, who either were, or had been, senators, and of whom the most noted were Lentulus Sura, consul in the year 681, and who having afterwards been expelled the senate by the censors, was then a candidate for the prætorship in order to re-enter it; P. Autronius, chief with Catilina of the conspiracy of the preceding year; two Syllas brothers, one of whom was the associate of Autronius's fortune, but cleared by Cicero, as I have said; L. Cassius, who actually stood for the consulship (*a*); Cethegus, a man of the most noble birth, and descended from an illustrious branch of the Cornelian family; and lastly, Q. Carius, who was the person from whom Cicero had the first and greatest lights concerning Catilina's designs. Such were the principal members of this criminal assembly. We come now to the speech, which Sallust puts into the mouth of their chief.

*His discourse to the conspirators.*

After having given them praises, wherein he ascribes to vice the name of virtue, or rather disguises the odium of guilt in terms, that express nothing but what is honourable and virtuous; and after having painted in the most lively colours, on one side, the power and riches of the persons at the head of the commonwealth, and, on the other, the misery and ignominy, to which themselves are reduced, he adds with an eloquence worthy of a better cause: *How*

(a) *We have spoken above, the people. If this be the same, I am surprized, that Lucullus, of one neither Cicero nor Sallust reproached him with his past and extremely favoured by conduct.*

*long,*

*long (a), brave and generous men, how long will you suffer such indignities. Is it not better to die with valour, than to be the sport of your equals, and drag a wretched life in shame, to lose it at length in torments. But wherefore, oh all you immortal gods! whilst an happier fate attends us? The victory is in our own hands. We have on our side the vigour of youth with intrepid courage: on the contrary, those we attack are entirely enervated by years and the enjoyments of riches. The question is only to begin; the rest will effect itself. What motives can be stronger than yours. For what man, if he deserves that name, and has the sentiments of a*

(a) Quæ quousque tandem patiemini, fortissimi viri? Nonne emori per virtutem præstat, quàm vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienæ superbix ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? Verùm enimverò, proh deùm atque hominum fidem! victoria in manu nobis est. Viget ætas, animus valet: contra illis, annis atque divitiis, omnia consenuere. Tantummodo incepto opus est: cætera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium inest, tolerare potest, illis divitias superare, quas profundant in extruendo mari & coæquandis montibus; nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? Illos binas, aut ampliùs, domos continuare; nobis larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse? Quum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt; nova diruunt, alia ædificant;

postremò omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant: tamen summâ lubricine divitias suas vincere nequeunt. At nobis est domi inopia, foris æs alienum; mala res, spes multo asperior: denique quid reliqui habemus, præter miseram animam? Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa, illa quam sæpe optastis, libertas; præterea divitiæ, decus, gloria, in oculis sita sunt. Fortuna ea omnia victoribus præmia posuit. Res, tempus, belli pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica, magis quàm oratio mea, vos hortentur. Vel imperatore, vel milite me utemini. Neque animus, neque corpus à vobis aberit. Hæc ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum unà Consul agam: nisi fortè me animus fallit, & vos servire magis quàm imperare parati sitis.



A.R. 688. *man, can bear to see their vast superfluity of*  
 Ant. C 64. *riches, their enormous profusions in levelling moun-*  
*tains, and inclosing seas with moles and banks,*  
*on which they erect magnificent buildings, whilst*  
*we are in want even of the common necessities of*  
*life; whilst they join house to house to form them-*  
*selves superb palaces, and we have scarce roofs to*  
*shelter ourselves under? They buy paintings, sta-*  
*tues, and plate of great value; they demolish what*  
*they now just built, and afterwards erect new edi-*  
*fices: in a word, they seem industriously to strive*  
*with their riches, and by redoubled efforts to en-*  
*deavour to annihilate them; however it is in vain,*  
*that they indulge their capricious tastes, they can-*  
*not succeed in overcoming and exhausting their*  
*treasures: but as to us, within our houses, we*  
*find nothing but penury, and abroad meet none*  
*but creditors; a sad present situation, a dreadful*  
*one in prospect for the future. In a word, what*  
*can we call our own, that we still have, except a*  
*miserable life? Let therefore your reason, your re-*  
*solution, awake! behold the liberty you have so*  
*much desired: behold it offers itself to you, ac-*  
*companied with riches, glory, and honours, the*  
*glorious rewards of victory? Could fortune pro-*  
*pose greater to you? Do not consider so much my*  
*words as the things themselves; the time, the*  
*dangers you run, the indigence you suffer, the*  
*magnificent spoils of the war; these ought to ad-*  
*vise and animate you. You will find in me either*  
*a general, or a soldier, which you will. Nei-*  
*ther my mind nor body shall be wanting to you.*  
*I hope soon, as consul, to put the things I speak*  
*of in execution with you, unless I am deceived*  
*in my expectation, and you prefer slavery to do-*  
*mination.*

This



This discourse was received with great applause. However, as it contained only indefinite things or general hints, most of them asked Catilina for a more particular explanation of his views, and what each had to expect from them. He satisfied them, and declared to them a general abolition of debts, the proscription of the rich, the offices of the state, the priesthoods, plunder at discretion; in a word, all that results from war to victors, who know no other law but will and pleasure. He at the same time shewed them the facility of the execution, if he had Antonius for his colleague in the consulship. He dismissed them in this manner full of great hopes, recommending to them, to employ their utmost zeal and pains for raising him and Antonius to that supreme dignity.

It was rumoured, that Catilina had exacted from his accomplices in this assembly an horrid oath, after having made them drink human blood mingled with wine in a bowl. Sallust does not affirm the fact. Writers more remote from the source as is usual, have been more positive. Plutarch, Florus, and some others, relate the thing as certain. Though there be nothing incredible in it, in respect to such abandoned wretches, the circumspection of Sallust, who in other things does not spare Catilina and his adherents, seems a sufficient reason for a judicious reader to doubt the reality of the fact.

The secret, so absolutely necessary, and yet so seldom kept, in such enterprizes, took air by a means that has discovered many others, I mean love and debauch. Curius, whom I have mentioned amongst those who were at Catilina's

A.R. 688.

Ant.C.64.

*Whether**Catilina**made them**drink hu-**man blood,**is matter**of doubt.**The secret**of the con-**spiracy**takes air.*

A.R. 688. Catilina's assembly, and who having very early  
 Ant.C.64 lost his reputation by his bad life and passion  
 for gaming, had in consequence been expelled  
 the senate by the censors, had long lived in a  
 vicious commerce with Fulvia, a woman of  
 condition. That man had no less levity, than  
 audaciousness, in his character; incapable of  
 concealing what he knew, even to his own  
 crimes, he was as void of rule in his discourse,  
 as in his actions. In consequence, seeing him-  
 self despised by her he loved, because the dis-  
 order of his affairs would not admit his making  
 her as great presents as she desired, on a sudden  
 he changed stile, bragged much, made her  
 magnificent promises, and sometimes vented  
 menaces; in a word, he talked in a tone of  
 haughtiness not usual to him. Fulvia observed  
 this change; and having easily drawn the cause  
 of it out of him, though a woman void of mo-  
 rals, she however did not act as a bad citizen:  
 she had a feeling for the danger of the com-  
 monwealth, and industriously related to a great  
 number of persons all she knew, only conceal-  
 ing the name of her informer.

*The rum-  
 mours  
 spread of  
 it very  
 much con-  
 tributed to  
 gaining  
 Cicero the  
 consulship.*

The spreading of these rumours in the city,  
 were of great service to Cicero in facilitating  
 his way to the consulship. It was with diffi-  
 culty, that all his merit triumphed over the  
 novelty of his origin. Pride and envy (*a*)  
 engrossed most of the nobility; and they  
 thought the consulship in a manner profaned,  
 if a new man (one without birth) were suf-  
 fered to obtain it, however great his merit.

(*a*) Pleraque nobilitas in-    homo novus adeptus foret.  
 vidia æstuebat; & quasi pol-    Sed ubi periculum advenit,  
 lei consulatum credebant,    invidia atque superbia post  
 si eum, quamvis egregius,    fuere. *Sall.*

But

But in so pressing a danger, pride and envy gave way to fear: And it was thus, that Cicero as he boasts himself (*a*), forced the barriers, which the Nobility had at first set up against him. Though for a considerable space of time no new man had been placed at the head of the Commonwealth, Cicero was nominated Consul first, and by the unanimous suffrages of all the Centuries, or rather by a kind of general acclamation made by the united voices of the whole Roman People in his favour. Catilina did not fail to obtain a great number of Suffrages. However Antonius carried it against him by some voices, having offered himself with a train of followers something more honourable, for which he was obliged, not to his own merit, but his father's memory.

This event extremely disconcerted Catilina's Partisans. But their chief, always audacious, and irritated by bad successes, was not discouraged, 'till his madness rising to excess, at length occasioned his perishing with the greatest part of his detestable adherents.

As Catulus and Crassus, the Censors of the preceding year, had abdicated, without doing the Commonwealth any service, it was thought proper to create new ones for this year. Never indeed had Rome more occasion for the severity of the Censorship. But the same vices, that rendered it necessary, prevented it's effects. The Tribunes of the People, apprehending, that they should be struck out of the List of the Senators, opposed the forming a new one. Thus this Censorship came to nothing, and has

(*a*) Quum ego tanto intervallo claustra ista nobilitatis refregissem. &c. Cic. pro

Mur. n. 17. & II. in Rull. n. 3.



A.R. 688. continued so obscure that (a) one of the two  
 Art.C.64 Censors is not known with certainty, and the  
 only assurance we have of the other, is from  
 some words of Cicero that relate to him.

*Saying of  
 Cicero up-  
 on the Cen-  
 sor Cotta.  
 Plut.  
 Cic.*

He was called L. Cotta, and was a great  
 lover of wine. Cicero, when he stood for the  
 Consulship, having heated himself very much,  
 caused a glass of water to be brought him in  
 the Forum: And whilst he drank, his friends  
 stood around him; *You do well*, said he to  
 them, *to bid me; for the Censor would not par-  
 don me, if he saw me drink water.*

## S E C T. II.

*Idea of Cicero's Consulship. Agrarian Law of  
 Rullus. Cicero prevents it's being passed by  
 the People. He appeases the clamour of the  
 People against Roscius. He defends Rabirius  
 accused of having killed Saturninus. He op-  
 poses the children of the Proscribed, who are  
 for being admitted into offices. He undertakes  
 to reform the abuses of free Embassies. He  
 gains his Colleague by resigning the government  
 of Macedonia to him. Lucullus's, Triumph.  
 Luxury of Lucullus, his houses, and gardens.  
 Enormous expences of his table. His Li-  
 brary; noble use which he makes of it. Birth  
 of Augustus. Catilina reanimates his party.  
 Several women of quality enter into the con-  
 spiracy. Sempronia's character. Catalina  
 stands again for the Consulship. His competitors.  
 Cicero lays open all his proceedings. He makes*

(a) *The Learned conjecture, | tellus Pius, or P. Servilius,  
 that there might be Q. Me- | Isauricus.*



*a Speech to him in the full Senate, and reduces him to take off the mask. Catilina resolves to cause the Consul to be assassinated in the field of Mars. He fails of the Consulship. He resolves to make war openly. Advice given Cicero by Crassus. Decree, to order the Consuls to provide for the safety of the Commonwealth. Trouble and anxiety in Rome. Mallius takes arms. Catilina endeavours in vain to have Cicero assassinated in his own house. He goes to the Senate. Cicero attacks him expressly in a Speech: Prima Catilinaria. Catilina's answer. He quits Rome. Cicero's Speech to the People concerning Catilina's departure. Secunda Catilinaria. Cicero defends Murena, the Consul elect, accused of corrupt canvassing. Open and frank behaviour of Cato, Murena's accuser. Cicero's Oration. Address with which he treats what relates to Cato. Murena is acquitted. Catilina repairs to the camp of Mallius. They are both declared enemies of their country by the Senate. Obstinacy of Catilina's Partisans. The multitude favour him. Lentulus endeavours to bring the Allobroges into his party. The latter give Cicero advice of all. Plan of the Conspirators for burning Rome. The Allobroges get a writing from Lentulus and the heads of the conspiracy. Cicero, in concert with them, causes them to be seized with their papers. Lentulus, and four of his principal accomplices, are seized. They are convicted in full Senate. They are distributed into private houses to be kept prisoners. Singular honour conferred on Cicero by the Senate. Cicero gives an account to the People of what has lately passed in the Senate: Tertia Catilinaria. The mul-*

*titude change sentiments in respect to Catilina, and begin to detest him. Crassus is informed against as having a hand in the conspiracy. The informer is committed to prison. What part Cæsar and Crassus may have been believed to have had in Catilina's designs. Anxiety of Cicero. He is encouraged by his wife and brother. He assembles the Senate to determine the fate of the prisoners. Silanus is for having them put to death. Cæsar opens a different opinion, and is for being satisfied with perpetual imprisonment. Cicero interrupts the deliberation by a Speech, wherein he shews, that he inclines to the side of rigour: Quarta Catilinaria: Cato refutes Cæsar's discourse, and brings the whole Senate into his opinion. Execution of Lentulus, and of those who had been seized with him. Testimony of the publick esteem and gratitude for Cicero. Catilina is defeated by Antonius, and causes himself to be killed in the battle. A Tribune prevents Cicero from haranguing the People on quitting the Consulship. The Consul's oath. Brief plan of Cicero's Consulship. He had endeavoured to prevent future evils by attaching the Order of the Knights to the Senate. Cicero's Consulship constitutes his highest glory. Magnificent Games given by Lentulus Spinther.*

A R 689.  
A n c. C 65.

M. TULLIUS CICERO.  
C. ANTONIUS.

*Index of  
Cicero's  
Consulship.*

**T**HE Consulship of Cicero contains infinite matter of entertainment. The events of it are important of themselves; but the Consul's person makes them still more affecting.

affecting. We shall see a name so famous A R. 689.  
 acquire new lustre by the wise and success- Ant.C.63.  
 ful administration of the publick affairs, and  
 the great Orator shew himself the great States-  
 man. His eloquence, hitherto almost solely  
 employed in favour of particulars, is now go-  
 ing to have the publick safety for it's object.  
 Cicero, placed on the most glorious stage of  
 the Universe, and at the head of an Em-  
 pire, that had swallowed up all others, will  
 have occasion to display all his talents and all  
 his virtues. Divided between an amazing a-  
 bundance of different cares and objects, he will  
 be equal to them all by his indefatigable ardour,  
 and the extent of his genius. We shall admire  
 his zeal for every thing that concerns the tran-  
 quillity of the State, his penetration in disco-  
 vering black and secret intrigues, and his con-  
 stancy in punishing them : and we shall be con-  
 vinced by his example, that a species of merit  
 no less glorious, and more amiable, than that  
 of Warriours, may be formed in the arms of  
 the Muses.

The greatest exploit of Cicero's Consulship,  
 is undoubtedly the suppression of Catiline's  
 conspiracy ; but that is not the only one. Be-  
 fore he saved the Commonwealth from a com-  
 mon danger, he defended it against the efforts  
 of those who attacked it by parts.

The first adversary, that he had to contend The Agra-  
 with, was P. Servilius Rullus, Tribune of the rian Law  
 People, who had proposed a new Agrarian of Rullus.  
 Law, even before Cicero entered upon office ; Cic. in  
 for the Tribunes took possession of their Ma- Rull.  
 gistracy on the tenth of December. This Law,  
 more extensive, or to speak more properly, more  
 exorbitant than all the rest of the same kind, that



A.R. 639. had ever been passed, gave up to a small number of citizens, under the pretext of relieving the poor, almost all the revenues of the Commonwealth. The principal heads of it are as follow. It decreed, that the ancient domains of the Kings of Macedonia, the territory of Corinth, the lands adjacent to Carthage in Spain, old Carthage in Africa, and also all the lands, buildings and other things that might belong to the State out of Italy, and which had been acquired since the first Consulship of Sylla. It also appointed the sale of all that the Commonwealth possessed in Italy, lands, vineyards, woods, meadows, as well as the estates it held in Sicily. The law obliged all Generals, Pompey alone excepted, to bring in all the money and spoils they had received or taken in war, which had not entered the publick Treasury, or been employed in some publick work. To preside in respect to all these effects, it ordained, that ten Commissioners should be chosen by the less half of the People, that is, by seventeen Tribes drawn by lot; and that those Commissioners should be invested with full powers to sell, alienate, call to account, and adjudge, what lands belonged to the Commonwealth, or particulars; in a word, to act every thing contained within the extent of their commission, and that without appeal, during the space of five years. After they should have collected by the different methods just mentioned, sums, which it is easy to conceive must become immense, they were to purchase lands with them in Italy, in order to settle the poor citizens in them. They were empowered to found new colonies, and to reinstate old ones. And lastly, the city and territory of Capua, which



which had been confiscated as a punishment of A.R. 689.  
the revolt of the Campanians almost an hun- Ant.C.63.  
dred and fifty years before, and which formed  
one of the finest revenues of the Common-  
wealth, were to be distributed by the same  
Commissioners to five thousand Roman citizens.

This account only may suffice to shew, that *Cicero pre-*  
Cicero did not exaggerate, when he said, that *vents it*  
Rullus, under the pretence of an Agrarian *from being*  
Law, instituted ten Kings, ten absolute Ma- *passed by*  
sters of the publick Treasury, of the Revenues *the People.*  
of the State, of all the Provinces, of the *Cic. II. in*  
whole Empire, and almost of all the Universe. *Rull. 15.*  
And the Consul Antonius favoured and sup-  
ported the Tribune's proposal, in hopes of  
being one of the ten Commissioners. In con-  
sequence Cicero found the weight of so great  
and delicate an affair entirely upon himself.  
He was not terrified at it, and resolved to op-  
pose the Law with his whole power, but how-  
ever with prudence and so as carefully to avoid  
exasperating the multitude.

He applied himself to it early. Being yet  
only Consul elect, he heard say, that the Tri-  
bunes of the People elect were preparing an  
Agrarian Law. *I believed, said he, that as*  
*they and I were to be in office during the same*  
*year, the Commonwealth itself exhorted us to*  
*unite, and to act in concert. I therefore made* Id. *ibid.*  
*advances to them. I affirmed to them, that if the* 11, 12,  
*Law was really beneficial to the People, I would* 13.  
*support it with the whole authority of my office.*  
*My offers were ill received; they concealed their*  
*intent from me, and affected mysterious airs. I*  
*desisted from farther Speech, for fear of seeming*  
*curious and importunate.*

A R. 689. The Tribunes at length entered upon office,  
 Ant C. 63. and Rullus immediately made a Speech to the People to declare his project. Cicero very agreeably ridicules the obscurity which prevailed in that harangue (a). Rullus, says he, exerted all his eloquence. He made a long Speech and in mighty good words. One thing indeed seemed defective in it; and that is, that out of so great a number of Hearers, there was not one who could comprehend of what the Orator designed to speak. I do not know, whether it was out of artifice, or taste, that he affected this style. It must however be confessed, that there were some more penetrating than the rest, who suspected, that he intended to say something, I know not what, concerning an Agrarian Law. Some days after, the Law was fixed up according to custom; and Cicero having caused a copy of it to be brought to him, immediately formed his resolution. On entering into office on the first of January, he made a Speech in the Senate against this Law, of which he proved the abuse and danger.

He had a fair field, and a favourable audience. The difficulty was to treat this affair before the People. He undertook it, and managed his subject with an address, that cannot be sufficiently admired. Nothing is more insinuating than the exordium of the Oration, which he made to the People upon this subject

(a) Explicat orationem fecerit, an hoc genere elo-  
 fanè longam, & verbis valde quentiae delectetur, nescio.  
 bonis. Unum erat quod mihi Tamen si qui acutiores in  
 vitiosum videbatur, quod concione steterant, de lege  
 tanta ex frequentia nemo in Agraria nescio quid voluisse  
 veniri potuit, qui intelligere eum dicere suspicabantur,  
 posset, quid diceret. Hoc n. 13.  
 ille utrùm insidiarum causâ

on one of the first days of his Consulship. “ He A.R. 689.  
 “ begins with returning thanks for the favour Ant.C.63.  
 “ he had lately been honoured with, by his  
 “ promotion to the first dignity of the Com-  
 “ monwealth; and he extols all the circum-  
 “ stances attending that favour, which render  
 “ it more dear and valuable to him, and con-  
 “ sequently require the warmer and more per-  
 “ fect gratitude on his side. He infers from  
 “ thence, that there is nothing he ought not to  
 “ do, to justify their choice, and to shew  
 “ himself worthy of the singular distinctions  
 “ with which they had honoured him. He  
 “ goes farther, and adds, that his plan is not  
 “ to imitate most of his predecessors, who  
 “ seldom shewed themselves to the People,  
 “ and as little as possible: That as to him,  
 “ raised as he was to the utmost height of dig-  
 “ nity, not by the recommendation of his  
 “ birth, not by the credit of some particular  
 “ persons, but by the favour and esteem of  
 “ the whole People, he shall make it his duty  
 “ to be a *Popular* Consul, and that he does  
 “ not only protest it to themselves, but has  
 “ declared it in the Senate.” How soothing  
 was an entrance like this to the multitude!  
 Did ever Tribune of the People talk in a more  
 grateful strain? But Cicero soon resumes the  
 tone of Consul, however without retracting  
 what he has just been saying.

“ He explains himself, and pretends, that  
 “ the term *Popular* is liable to equivocation,  
 “ and to be often badly interpreted. Accord-  
 “ ing to him, *to be popular*, is to maintain the  
 “ true interests of the People, which consist  
 “ in peace, liberty, and the internal tranquil-  
 “ lity of the State; and as these three views

“ are



A. R. 689. “ are the only ones he shall propose to himself  
 Ant. C. 63. “ in his Consulship, he can say with truth,  
 “ that he shall be a *Popular* Consul in the most  
 “ strict and literal sense of the word. Where-  
 “ as a largess, that exhausts the publick Trea-  
 “ sury, cannot deserve to be called *Popular*,  
 “ because it is pernicious to the People.” In  
 this manner Cicero insensibly approaches his  
 subject, and begins to shew his design of at-  
 tacking the Law of Rullus. He however does  
 not do it immediately without great caution  
 and reserve. He protests, “ that the Agrari-  
 “ an Laws have nothing in them, that seems  
 “ blameable to him. He praises the Gracchi  
 “ in the strongest terms. He avers, that  
 “ when he read the scheme of Rullus’s Law  
 “ for the first time, it was with the resolution  
 “ of supporting it, if he found it beneficial  
 “ to the People. But the unprejudiced enquiry  
 “ he had made into it, had put that out of his  
 “ power: And he undertakes (a) to prove,  
 “ that this Agrarian Law, which some would  
 “ enforce under popular pretences, gives no-  
 “ thing to the People, and grants all to a cer-  
 “ tain number of persons; that it presents set-  
 “ tlements to the Roman People in idea, and  
 “ actually deprives them of liberty; that it  
 “ augments the riches of Individuals, and ex-  
 “ hausts those of the State; in a word, which

(a) Sic confirmo, Quirities, hâc lege Agrariâ, pulchrâ  
 atque populari, dari vobis  
 nihil, condonari certis ho-  
 minibus omnia; ostentari  
 populo Romano agros, eripi  
 etiam libertatem; privato-  
 rum pecunias augeri, pub-  
 licas exhauriri; denique,  
 quod est indignissimum, per  
 tribunum plebis, quem ma-  
 jores præsidem libertatis cu-  
 stodemque esse voluerunt,  
 reges in civitate constitui. II.  
*in Rull.* 15.

“ makes



“ makes the enormity of the highest nature ; A.R. 689.  
 “ by this Law a Tribune, who is the defender Ant.C.63.  
 “ of liberty, institutes Kings in the Common-  
 “ wealth.”

This is much the plan, that Cicero pursues throughout the whole series of the Oration. I shall not follow him in the detail of his proofs, which would carry us too far. I shall content myself with observing, that knowing how much Pompey was beloved by the People, he employs his name with great address to render the Law odious. He observes, that Rullus 23, 24: took care to exclude Pompey out of the number of the ten Commissioners, by requiring, that those who were nominated, should be present at Rome, and should stand for the Consulship in person. Now Pompey was at that time in the East. Besides which he exaggerated the indignity of the power, that Rullus arrogated over the conquests of Pompey. To render the thing more sensible, he draws up a letter himself for the Tribune, in which he makes him speak insolently. He supposes, that Rullus 33: being arrived in Asia, writes to Pompey in these terms: RULLUS, TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE, DECENVIR (ONE OF THE TEN COMMISSIONERS) TO POMPEY. *I don't believe, says Cicero, that he would add the surname of THE GREAT. That surname would not suit the mouth of one desirous to humble him.*) UPON THE RECEIPT OF THIS ORDER, YOU ARE TO REPAIR TO SINOPE, AND MARCH FORCES THITHER TO ME, TO THE END, THAT IN VIRTUE OF MY LAW, I MAY SELL THE LANDS AND COUNTRIES YOU HAVE SUBJECTED BY YOUR ARMS. It is easy to conceive, how capable all this was to disgust a multitude that adored Pompey. In

A.R. 629. In another place, taking the advantage of  
 Ant.C.63. an indiscreet word, that had escaped Rullus, he touches his auditors at the same time in the most sensible part, as follows. *The Tribune, says (a) Cicero, has advanced in the Senate, that the multitude of the citizens of the city had too much power in the Commonwealth; and that it was necessary to cleanse Rome of them. He used that very term, as if he had been speaking of emptying a jakes, and not a most estimable order of the citizens. Ab Romans! if you believe me, continue in possession of credit, liberty, your right of suffrage, the splendor you enjoy in this city and the Forum, all the entertainment the games and festivals afford you, and all imaginable conveniences; unless you choose rather, in renouncing all these advantages, and the lustre that surrounds you in the centre of the Commonwealth, to go and settle under the direction of Rullus, in the barren soil of (b) Sipontum, or the unwholesome country of Salapia.*

The eloquence of the Consul had it's effect. The Tribes entered so effectually into the sentiments, that Cicero had undertaken to inculcate; that they disliked what at first had appeared so advantageous to them, and despised a Law, that gave them assurances of lands and set-

(a) Et nimirum istud est quod ab hoc Tribuno plebis dictum est in Senatu, urbanam plebem nimium in Republica posse, *exbauriendam esse*: hoc enim verbo est usus, quasi de aliquâ sentinâ, ac non de optimorum civium genere loqueretur. Vos verò, si me audire vultis, retinete istam possessionem gratiæ, libertatis, suffragiorum, dig-

nitatis, urbis, fori, ludorum, festorum dierum, cæterorum omnium commodorum: nisi fortè mavultis, relictis his rebus atque hac luce Reipublicæ, in Sipontinâ siccitate, aut in Salapinorum pestilentia finibus, Rullo duce, collocari.

(b) *Sipontum and Salapia were cities of Apulia.*

tlements,

elements, and resembled several, for which the A.R. 689.  
multitude had been ardent even to madness. Ant.C.63.

Rullus in consequence was obliged to abandon his undertaking : and Cicero in this manner signalized the beginning of his consulship in rendering a service of the highest importance to the commonwealth, “ demonstrating by an  
“ illustrious example, as (a) Plutarch observes,  
“ how much the force of speech is capable of  
“ recommending what is good and laudable ;  
“ and that right and justice is invincible,  
“ when supported by true eloquence. And  
“ indeed the wise magistrate in all his actions  
“ ought to prefer the true, the generous, and  
“ the honest, to a weak and abject flattery :  
“ but he should by the arts of discourse separate  
“ the disagreeable and offensive from the use-  
“ ful.”

Besides this admirable art of making proper impressions, and giving the necessary bent of mind, the courage with which Cicero undertook and managed this affair, deserves praise : and that courage supposes and proves a disinterestedness in him, that was not common in those days amongst the Great of Rome. The principal objects of the ambition of the prætors and consuls were the governments of provinces, which by right followed their year of office. It was in them that they enriched themselves at the expence of the people : it was in them they could acquire glory by arms, and deserve the honour of a triumph. To ob-

(a) Μάλιστα γὰρ ἔτι ὁ πολυτιμότερον δὲ τῷ μὲν  
ἀνὴρ ἐπέδειξε ρωμαίῳ ὅσον ἔργῳ τὸ καλὸν ἀντὶ τῆς κολα-  
ήδονης λέγει τῷ καλῷ προ- κείνῳ αἰρεῖσθαι, τῷ δὲ λό-  
σίθῃσι, καὶ ὅτι τὸ δίκαιον γὰρ τὸ λυπρὸν ἀποστρεῖν τῷ  
ἀήττητο ἐσὶν ἂν ὁρθῶς λε- συμπερὶν. Plut Cic.  
γῆται καὶ δὲ τῷ ἐπιμελεῖς



A.R. 639. tain these great places, or at least to avoid the  
 Ant.C.63. opposition that might prevent the attainment of  
 them, they were often obliged to conciliate the  
 good will of the tribunes. Cicero, who did  
 not desire to make a figure by any thing but  
 the talents of genius and virtue, was very in-  
 different in respect to the government of a pro-  
 vince, and thereby found himself capable of  
 acting against the tribunes at entire liberty. *I*  
*am resolved*, said he to the senate on the first  
 day of January, *to exercise the consulship in the*  
*only manner it can be exercised with liberty and*  
*honour, that is, not to desire either the govern-*  
*ment of a province, honour, distinction, advan-*  
*tage, or, in a word, any thing, to which a tribune*  
*can give opposition (a). I shall so behave myself,*  
*as to be able to reduce a seditious tribune, when*  
*angry with the commonwealth, to his duty, and*  
*to despise when angry with me.*

*He ap-*  
*peases the*  
*clamour of*  
*the people*  
*against*  
*Roscus.*  
*Plut.*  
*Cic.*

Cicero did not even give way before the peo-  
 ple, but he had the art to manage them with  
 success, and to bring them into his purposes.  
 It was in this manner he appeased a commotion  
 in it's birth, and suppressed it upon the spot.  
 We have said, that Roscius Otho, when tri-  
 bune of the people, had passed a law for assign-  
 ing the Roman knights distinguished places  
 at the games, and that the people had been  
 very much offended by that innovation, which  
 they considered as a contempt of them. This  
 Otho, who was actually prætor, having en-  
 tered the theatre, was received by the people  
 with terrible hootings. On the contrary, the  
 knights clapped their hands, to express their

(a) Sic me in hoc ma- publicæ iratum coërcere,  
 gistratu geram, P. C. ut mihi iratum contemnere, I.  
 possem tribunum plebis Rei- in Rull. n. 26.

applause.



applause. Both sides grew hot, quarrelled, and called each other names; so that the consequence of this tumult was to be feared. Cicero having been presently informed of it, immediately summoned an assembly of the people in the temple of Bellona, and by the force of his eloquence so changed the disposition of mind, that on returning to the theatre, the people by their applauses expressed all kinds of esteem and honour for the person they had just before hissed so cruelly.

An affair of much greater importance gave Cicero a new occasion of distinguishing his eloquence and consular steadiness of mind. Amongst the tribunes of this year was one T. Labienus, the nephew of another Labienus, who had been killed thirty-six years before with Saturninus, in the sixth consulship of Marius. The reader may remember, that the death of Saturninus and his partisans was only a just punishment of their excesses, and had been the work of the senate, the consuls, of almost all the magistrates, and of all the persons of worth and good citizens in Rome. However, Labienus undertook to revenge those wretches, and to cause the person, whom he pretended to be the murderer of Saturninus, to be condemned to die. This was C. Rabirius, a Roman knight; who however had not killed that seditious tribune, but had carried his head from house to house throughout the whole city in a kind of triumph. For the rest, Labienus was on this occasion only the instrument of one more powerful than him. Cæsar set him to work; and always intent upon depressing the authority of the senate, and exalting the faction of the people, it cost him nothing to employ

*He defends*

*Rabirius,*

*accused of*

*having*

*killed Sa-*

*turninus.*

*Cic pro \**

*Rabir.*

*Suet.*

*Cæf. c 12.*

*Dio. L.*

*xxxvii.*

A.R. 689. employ the most odious means for attaining his  
Ant.C.63. ends.

Labienus accordingly on his instigation attacked Rabirius, as guilty of a crime that deserved death; and endeavoured to revive against him the manner of proceeding, which had been used in former times against the last of the Horatii, after he had killed his sister; that is, he proposed to the people to decree, that Rabirius should be tried by two commissioners, who should condemn him to be (a) scourged with rods and crucified. The senate, whose interests were so much at stake in this affair, acted with the utmost vigour to prevent it from passing. They did not succeed however, the tribune carried his point; and even the commissioners were not appointed by the people, as had been observed in the prosecution of Horatius, but drawn by lot by a prætor. Chance did still much more for the enemies of Rabirius, and, by a circumstance very suspicious, the lot fell upon Cæsar and one of his relations. The two commissioners tried the accused and condemned him; and Cæsar in particular acted with so manifest a warmth, that Rabirius having appealed from him to the people, nothing contributed more to mollify them in regard to him than the partiality of his first judge.

The affair being carried by appeal before the people, as I have just been saying, the assembly was summoned by centuries to the field of

(a) It appears by a fragment of Cicero's oration (from n. 10. to n. 17.) that he had occasioned some mitigation of the law, and punishment by an amendment. But the thing is not said clearly enough to admit my using it in my narration.

Mars: for a citizen, accused of high (a) treason, could only be tried in the last resort in this kind of assembly, the most solemn, and the most august of all. Cicero defended the accused with all the force imaginable: he urged strongly the senate's authority against Saturninus: he demonstrated, that a citizen could not be criminal for having acted conformably to a measure, that had received the sanction of the consuls, and of all the principal persons of the commonwealth.

Labienus, to render Rabirius more odious, affirmed, that he had killed Saturninus with his own hand. Cicero denies the fact, but in a very noble and courageous manner. *Would to the Gods*, said he, *that truth would permit me to declare aloud, that Rabirius did kill such an enemy to his country, as Saturninus, with his own hands!* On these words a clamour arose, that interrupted the consul. *Your cries*, returned he, *do not disturb me in the least, but rather console me, by letting me see, that if there are some citizens misled by ignorance and error, their number is but small. Certainly the Roman people, whom you see keep silence, would never have made me consul, if they had thought, that I had been capable of being discomposed by your cries.* Upon this the cries were renewed but with less force. Cicero observes upon it: *How much weaker*, says he, *is this second cry than the first? Suppress your noise, which only serves to prove your imprudence, and declare your small number. Yes, I repeat it, I should confess with*

(a) It is so I translate the Latin word *perduellio* which properly signifies a crime of such a nature, as causes

him, who has committed it, to be considered and treated as an enemy of the publick.



A.R. 689. joy, if I could do so without injuring truth, that  
 Ant.C. 63. Saturninus was killed by Rabirius's own hand.  
*I should think, that it was a very noble and glorious action, for which we should have rewards to ask, and not punishments to fear, from you. Not being able to make this confession, I make one, which indeed renders us not entirely so worthy of praise, but which, if there were any crime in the case, would render us not less criminal. I own, that Rabirius did take arms in order to kill Saturninus.*

So generous a defence ought to have carried all the suffrages. But Cæsar's faction was so strong, that the friends of Rabirius, and the defenders of the senate's authority, apprehended, that the event of the trial would not be in his favour. Metellus Celer, who was prætor, saved the accused, by forcing the assembly to break up; which he did in the following manner:

The assemblies by centuries were in some sense military: the people were under arms in them, and drawn up like an army in line of battle. They were held in the field of Mars without the city. Thus in the early times, when Rome was weak, and had only a very small territory, there was reason to fear, that the city, when all who were capable of bearing arms had quitted it, might be exposed to be surprized by some sudden incursion of the neighbours. To obviate that danger, as long as the assembly lasted, there was a guard posted, and an ensign planted upon the Janiculum; and those who had formed this guard during some time, were relieved by others, who had given their suffrages, and went in their turn to the assembly. This precaution was certainly no longer



longer necessary at the time of which we are A.R. 689.  
speaking, but it was retained as an image of Ant.C. 63.  
antiquity; and the assembly could decree no-  
thing legally, except whilst the ensign conti-  
nued flying, upon the Janiculum. Metellus  
having therefore caused those colours to be  
taken down, the assembly broke up of necessity.  
Rabirius escaped condemnation, and La-  
bienus did not think proper to resume the pro-  
secution of the affair.

The sons of the proscribed also exercised Ci- *He opposes*  
cero's zeal for the publick tranquillity, in these *the chil-*  
first times of his consulship. We have seen, *dren of the*  
that Sylla had deprived them of the right of *proscribed,*  
attaining dignities. This was very hard: but *who were*  
Sylla's institutions were then the basis of the *for being*  
government, and it was impossible to infringe *admitted*  
them, without putting the whole state into *into the*  
confusion. The consul was therefore obliged *publick*  
to oppose their demand, however equitable it *offices.*  
seemed; and he had the courage to take upon *Cic. in*  
him all the odium of this opposition, with- *Pis. n. 4.*  
out committing the senate upon the occasion. *Plut.*  
He made a speech to the people upon that sub- *Cic.*  
ject, which is lost, but which we know had  
the success he desired.

An abuse now grown old, and highly com- *He under-*  
modious for the senators, required also the *takes to*  
consul's attention; for his zeal was not par- *reform the*  
tial, and abuses were criminal to him, where- *abuse of*  
ever he found them. The senators, who had *free em-*  
affairs in the provinces, as an estate to inherit, *bassies.*  
or a debt to recover, were not contented with  
taking a passport, without which they were  
not allowed to absent themselves from Rome  
and Italy; they caused themselves to be given  
the title of ambassadors, to enable themselves,

A.R. 689. under the cover of a publick character, to pro-  
 Ant C.63. vide the better for their private interests. This  
 kind of embassies were called free embassies,  
*Legationes liberæ*, because neither the function,  
 time, nor place of them, were determined.  
 The practice was certainly entirely repugnant  
 to good order. “For is it not a shameful  
 “thing, says (*a*) Cicero in his *Treatise of*  
 “*Leges*, that there should be an embassy,  
 “which has not the service of the state for  
 “it’s object? What is an ambassador with-  
 “out instructions, and without any affair or  
 “destination relating to the commonwealth?”  
 He therefore undertook to reform this abuse,  
 and would have succeeded in it with the ap-  
 probation of the whole senate, so well did he  
 know how to conciliate all to his purposes,  
 if a tribune, of whom he speaks with con-  
 tempt, without naming him, had not opposed  
 it. The consul was obliged to content him-  
 self with limiting the duration of this kind of  
 commissioners, and to reduce that to one year,  
 which was before unlimited (*b*). “Thus, says  
 “he, the abuse subsists; the length of it only  
 “retrenched.”

He gains  
 his col-  
 league to  
 resigning  
 the go-  
 vernment  
 of Mace-  
 donia to  
 him.

We have spoken only of Cicero in all these  
 consular actions, because in reality his col-  
 league Antonius was no more than a shadow,  
 capable at most of letting good be done.  
 And indeed, it was Cicero’s wise conduct  
 which carried him so far as that, and pre-

(*a*) Illud apertum pro-  
 fectio est, nihil esse turpius,  
 quam quæquam legari nisi  
 Reipublicæ causâ — Quæ-  
 re quid re ipsa sit turpis,

quàm legatus sine mandatis,  
 sine ullo Reipublicæ munere.  
 Cic. III. *de Leg.* n. 18.

(*b*) Ita turpitudine manet,  
 diuturnitate sublata.

vented

vented him from giving ear to the bad coun- A R. 689.  
sels, which his natural disposition inclined Ant. C 63.  
him to follow. He was Catilina's friend,  
deeply involved in debt, and greedy of rich- Cic. in  
es. A Consul of this character was undoubtedly Pif. 5.  
much to be feared in a year of such trouble Sallust.  
and danger. Cicero brought him over to Plut.  
the Commonwealth, not only by his obliging Dio.  
behaviour, but by a fine present he made  
him. Gaul and Macedonia had been allotted  
to them for the Provinces, which they were  
to govern after the expiration of their Con-  
sulship. The lots had given Cicero Macedo-  
nia, of which Antonius was extremely desi-  
rous, because it opened to him a much finer  
field for war, and more favourable occasions  
for enriching himself. Cicero consented to re-  
sign it to him, and to take Gaul in exchange :  
and he even afterwards determined to renounce  
the government of Gaul, and in order to that  
made an harangue to the People, which he  
reckons as the sixth of his Consular orations.

A memorable event of Cicero's Consulship *Triumph*  
is the triumph of Lucullus, which had been *of Lucul-*  
prevented hitherto by the contrivances of his *ius.*  
enemies. (a) Cicero takes honour to himself *Plut.*  
for having, whilst Consul, in a manner intro- *Lucul.*  
duced the triumphant chariot of that illustrious  
personage into the city : and if he contribu-  
ted, as his expressions seem to imply, in cau-  
sing justice at length to be done to the merit  
and services of Lucullus, he has reason to con-  
gratulate himself upon it.

(a) Nos Consules intro- | ram clarissimi viri. Cic.  
duximus penè in urbem car- | Lucul. n. 3.

A.R. 689. That general, as we have seen, had quit-  
 Ant.C.63. ted the East embroiled with Pompey: and on arriving at the gates of Rome, he found all things prepared by his adversary to mortify and distress him. A tribune, called C. Memmius, prosecuted M. Lucullus his brother, for crimes pretended to be committed during his quæstorship in virtue of Sylla's orders. This affair was soon terminated to the advantage of the accused. But the same tribune afterwards undertook to stop the triumph of the conqueror of Mithridates and Tigranes, and he succeeded at least, either by himself, or those who seconded what he had begun, to retard it three years. At length merit, supported by the solicitations of the principal and most powerful citizens, overcame unworthy obstacles, and a triumph was granted Lucullus.

The pomp of this triumph was not remarkable from the multitude of spoils and prisoners. The greatest part of the fruits of Lucullus's victories were in the hands of Pompey. In consequence only a small troop of horsemen, covered with iron arms, ten waggons armed with scythes, and sixty of the friends and generals of Mithridates. The rest of the show had something more magnificent in it: an hundred and ten ships of war with their beaks of brass, one gold statue of Mithridates six feet high, and a shield adorned with precious stones, twenty litters laden with silver plate, and thirty-two with vases of gold, armour, and coin of the same metal. These litters were carried by men (a). Eight mules

(a) *Plutarch does not mention the number of these beds.*  
*They*



mules carried beds of gold ; and fifty-six silver A.R. 689.  
 in ingots. An hundred and seven more were Ant.C.63.  
 laden with coined silver, which amounted to  
 two \* millions seven hundred thousand drach- \* About  
 mas. There were also written scrolls, on which *sixty five*  
 were set down the sums, with which Lucullus *thousand*  
 had supplied Pompey for the war with the pi- *pounds.*  
 rates, and those he had remitted at different  
 times to the questors, who kept the publick  
 treasure ; besides † nine hundred and fifty † About  
 drachmas distributed to each soldier. *one and*

Lucullus gave a feast to the whole peo- *twenty*  
 ple, having caused tables and sideboards to be *pounds,*  
 prepared in the streets ; and above an hundred *five shil-*  
 thousand (a) casks of Greek wine to be distri- *lings.*  
 buted in it. He adorned the publick places, *|| About*  
 and buildings with a great number of statues, *five and*  
 of which the most famous were an Hercules in *forty feet.*  
 the fatal shirt, expressing the agonies of ap- *§ About*  
 proaching death ; and a Colossus of Apollo *seven*  
 || thirty cubits high, and of an hundred § ta- *thousand*  
 lents in weight. All this appeared magnifi- *pounds*  
 cent. But a more estimable present, which he *avoirdu-*  
 made to all Europe, was the cherry-tree, a *poize.*  
 plant unknown in that part of the globe 'till *Plin.*  
 then, which Lucullus brought from the country, *xv. 25.*  
 about Cerasontum in Pontus, where it grows *Amm.*  
 without cultivation. *Marc.*  
*L. 22.*  
*Luxury of*  
*Lucullus.*  
*His houses,*  
*and gar-*  
*dens. E-*  
*normous*  
*of expence of*  
*his table.*

The day of Lucullus's triumph was the last  
 glorious one of his life. The (b) rest of it,  
 Y 4

*They must have been very small, if eight mules carried more than two of them.*

(a) The Latin word Cadus, signifies a cask, that contained above twelve gallons.

(b) Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν Λακέραις  
 βίαι, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀρχαίας κα-  
 μωδίας ἀναγνῶναι τὰ μὲν  
 πρῶτα πολυλείας καὶ σελίν-  
 γίας, τὰ δ' ὑστερὰ σίτικας  
 καὶ δειπνά, καὶ μετὰ κα-  
 μῆς

A.P. 576. of which I am going to give an idea by an-  
Am C. 55 anticipation, adds no lustre to the beginning.  
It is no longer any thing but luxury, pomp,  
and foolish extravagances, in a word, puerile  
pleasures, that succeeded great exploits, bat-  
tles, victories; the noblest proofs of wisdom,  
conduct, and magnanimity. It is after Plu-  
tarch that I call puerile pleasures, superb build-  
ings, gardens, delightful baths, and especially  
paintings, and statues, which he collected at  
great expences, dissipating without any bounds  
the riches he had acquired by arms, to procure  
those curious trifles. His gardens must have  
been of astonishing magnificence, as long after  
in Plutarch's time, notwithstanding the incon-  
ceivable growth of luxury, the gardens of Lu-  
cullus were judged the finest of all those that  
belonged to the emperors.

ix. 51.

\* from  
free and  
happy  
and  
good.

The works which he made upon the coasts of the sea of Campania, and in the neighbourhood of Naples, are something prodigious and almost incredible of a private person. He hollowed grottos under hills, which thereby seemed in some measure to hang upon them: he made canals round his buildings for receiving the sea water, and keeping fish, and stocked them with so prodigious a quantity, that after his death to the amount of four \* millions of sesterces was sold of it; and lastly, he built pleasure-houses in the midst of the sea itself. This gave Tubero, others say Pom-

ἡμεῖς δὲ λαμπρὰς, καὶ πα-  
 ραλαμπρὰς, εἰς παλαίαν καὶ  
 νεωτέραν πόλιν καὶ οὐκ ἐοικυῖαν  
 τῇ παλαιᾷ, καὶ καὶ ἀσκητὰς  
 πολλοὺς καὶ ῥοδοὺς, καὶ ἐπι-  
 λούοντες, καὶ ἀνδραγα-  
 θίας, καὶ παρὰ ταύτας τὰς

pey, occasion to call him justly *a Roman* (a) A. R. 689.  
*Xerxes.* Ant. C. 63.

The voluptuous life of Lucullus very much deceived the hopes of the senate, and those, who were zealous for the Aristocracy, who expected to have found in him an head, that they might have set up against Pompey, to prevent the latter from engrossing every thing. Lucullus had undoubtedly all that was necessary for answering the expectation they had conceived of him. But whether he believed it impossible to support the commonwealth, which was too much distempered to be susceptible of remedy, or being satiated with glory he was for enjoying the sweets of life, he consoled himself with pleasures for the little happy success, in which his battles and labours had terminated.

He seems to have designed to imitate the soldier of his army, whose adventure (b) Horace so agreeably describes. “ A soldier of  
 “ Lucullus, says that amiable poet, after ha-  
 “ ving scraped together a small sum of mo-

(a) Xerxem togatum.

(b) — Luculli miles collecta viatica multis  
 Ærumnis, lassus dum noctu stertit, ad assem  
 Perdiderat. Post hoc vehemens lupo, & sibi & hosti  
 Iratus pariter, jejunis dentibus acer,  
 Præsidium regale loco dejecit, ut aiunt,  
 Summè munito, ad multarum divite rerum.  
 Clarus ob id factum, donis ornatur honestis,  
 Accipit & bis dena super sestertia nummum.  
 Fortè sub hoc tempus castellum evertere Prætor  
 Nescio quod cupiens, hortari cœpit eundem  
 Verbis quæ timido quoque possent addere mentem:  
 I, bone, quò virtus tua te vocat: i pede fausto,  
 Grandia laturus meritorum præmia. Quid stas!  
 Post hæc ille catus, quantumvis rusticus: ibit,  
 Ibit eò quo vis, qui zonam perdidit inquit.

Hor. *Epi.* II. 2.

“ ney,

A.R. 689. " ney, with great care and pains, was robbed of it whilst he slept. From thence-  
 Ant.C. 63. " forth he was like a famished wolf, furious  
 " both against himself and the enemy : and  
 " in the attack of a royal castle well fortified and very rich, he acted wonders, and  
 " contributed more than any one to taking  
 " of the place. His general gave him the  
 " highest praises, and besides ordered him a  
 \* *About* " gift of twenty \* thousand sesterces. Some  
*one hundred and* " time after, a dangerous occasion arising, Lu-  
*twenty-* " cullus cast his eyes upon the same soldier,  
*five* " whose bravery he had admired, and exhort-  
*pounds.* " ed him in terms, that might have inspired  
 " even a coward with courage. *Go, brave fellow,*  
 " *said he to him, go, where your va-*  
 " *lour calls you. Go, and acquire new glory.*  
 " *How ! Why this delay.* Now this same soldier was a cunning rascal, though somewhat  
 " gross and rustick ; and was desirous to keep  
 " his twenty thousand sesterces. *Choose bet-*  
 " *ter,* said he to his general, *and give that*  
 " *commission to somebody, who has lost his purse.*"  
 It might be suspected, that Lucullus also had sought only to acquire riches, and afterwards to enjoy the pleasures and gratifications they afford.

Some have praised him for this, as an instance of prudence, that prevented the tragical catastrophes of the ambitious old age of Marius, and many others, who were not so wise as to repose amidst their laurels. But Pompey and Crassus derided him extremely ; affirming, that pleasures and luxury became advanced years still less than the trouble and care of publick affairs. The truth is, that men are always to be blamed for whatever  
 passion



passion they abandon themselves to; and that A.R. 689.  
 if the Epicurean life of Lucullus was very in- Ant.C. 63.  
 decent, the ambition of his censurers was senseless and frantick.

Lucullus carried luxury, to an incredible excess, and gloried in it. He had a country house near Tusculum, finely situated for prospects, and well opened for receiving both light and air, with very extensive walks and vistas. Pompey going thither to visit him (for notwithstanding their past differences, they kept up an outside of decorum and politeness with each other) observed only one fault in it, but a great one in his opinion. This was, that the house though very commodious for summer, was uninhabitable in winter. Lucullus replied laughing, *do you think, that I have less sense than the (a) swallows, and don't know how to change my abode according to the seasons.*

A prætor (b), who was to give magnificent games, desired him to lend him an hundred cloaks for dressing his people. *How, said Lucullus, should I be able to supply you with so great a number? However I will order my wardrobe to be searched, and send you what I have.* Some few days after he wrote to the prætor, that he had five thousand cloaks

(a) *The Greek says Cranes and Storks. I have used the name of a bird of passage more known among us.*

(b) — Chlamydes Lucullus, ut aiunt,  
 Si posset centum scenæ præbere rogatus,  
 Quî possum tot? ait. Tamen & quæram, & quot habebo  
 Mittam. Post paulò scribit sibi millia quinque  
 Esse domi chlamydum: partem, vel tolleret omnes.  
 Exilis domus est, ubi non & plura supersunt,  
 Et dominum fallunt, & prosunt furibus.

*Hor. Epist. I. 6.*

at

A.R. 689 at his service. *It is thus*, says Horace in his  
 Ant.C. 63. pleasant way of moralizing, *that one should  
 be rich, That is a poor house, in which the su-  
 perfluity does not escape the master's knowledge,  
 and make well for the thieves about him.*

The expence (a) of his table, says Plutarch, favoured of the pomp and insolence of new riches. He not only consulted magnificence in the decoration of it, beds of purple and sideboards covered with heaps of plate, all glittering with precious stones: he was curious in his dishes, exquisite meats, the finest ragouts, the most exquisite wines, with which he united musick and dancing: an happy man in the sense of those, who do not know the more solid and refined pleasures of the understanding!

Pompey was very remote from this taste, and did himself honour by the aversion he expressed for it. His Physician, on the occasion of his recovery from an illness, had ordered him a thrush; and his servants having told him, that during summer, as it then was, there were none to be had, except at Lucullus's, who kept them to fatten. *How*, replied he, with vivacity, *if Lucullus were not a glutton, could not Pompey live?* and ordered some common thing to be given him, that was easy to be had.

Lucullus, as I have already said, gloried in his intemperance and profusions. Some Greeks coming to Rome, he regaled them magnificently during many days. At length those honest people, who were plain men of

(a) Νεώτερος δ' ἦν ἔ | ῥμεία, — Ζηλωτὸν ἀνέ-  
 Λοκὸς τὰ δεῖπνα τὰ καὶ | λευγέρις ποιεῖν αὐτὸν.

the provinces, were ashamed to see themselves A.R. 689.  
 so well treated, and desired him to dispense Ant.C. 63.  
 with their coming to eat with him, “being  
 “unwilling, added they, to be troublesome,  
 “and to put him to such expences.” Lucullus  
 answered smiling, *That there were indeed some  
 things amongst all the rest intended for them; but  
 that much the greatest part was for Lucullus.*

One day eating alone, a moderate supper was  
 served up to him. He was angry, and chid his  
 steward. The latter excusing himself with say-  
 ing, that as no body was invited, he had be-  
 lieved there would be no occasion for a magni-  
 ficent service. *What is that,* resumed he in a  
 rage? *Don't you know, that to day Lucullus sups  
 with Lucullus?*

Nothing was talked of in Rome but the  
 luxurious table of Lucullus. Cicero and Pom-  
 pey were for informing themselves in person  
 of the truth. Accordingly having met him  
 in the forum, they said to him: *We desire  
 to sup with you; but we will have nothing but  
 what we find.* Lucullus opposed this at first,  
 and prayed them to put off the visit 'till ano-  
 ther day, that he might have time to prepare  
 for their reception. They insisted, went home  
 with him directly, and even kept him in  
 sight, that he might not give any orders to his  
 servants. Only, with their permission and  
 in their presence, he told his steward what  
 room he would sup in, which was the Apollo,  
 and thereby illuded the vigilance of his guests.  
 For every eating-room in his house had it's  
 fixed expence; and in only telling his people  
 in which he intended to sup, he let them  
 know what the cost was to be, and in what  
 manner he would be served. Now the ex-  
 pence



A.R. 689. pence of an entertainment in the room Apol-  
 Ant.C.63. lo was fifty thousand drachmas, that is about  
 twelve hundred and fifty pounds. This seems  
 incredible; but I only copy my author. Ci-  
 cero and Pompey were in consequence ex-  
 tremely surprized, both with the magnifi-  
 cence of the service, and the dispatch in pre-  
 paring it.

*Library of  
 Lucullus,  
 and the  
 noble use  
 he made  
 of it.*

It was in this manner Lucullus played with  
 his riches, treating them, as (*a*) Plutarch ob-  
 serves, as the true spoils of Barbarians, which  
 the rights of war admitted him to insult. But  
 he deserves praise for a more noble and better  
 judged kind of expence. He was curious in  
 books, and made a vast collection of them;  
 sparing nothing to procure the finest copies.  
 The use he made of his library was still more  
 laudable, than the care he took in forming it.  
 The galleries, in which the books were pla-  
 ced, the gardens into which they opened,  
 and the cabinets for study, were free to all the  
 world: and the Greeks, who were at Rome,  
 repaired thither from all quarters as to the re-  
 sidence of the Muses, where they passed whole  
 days in delight, and unbent themselves with  
 letters from the noise and importunity of  
 their other affairs. Lucullus frequently came  
 to walk with them in his gardens, and to con-  
 verse upon some point of literature; for he  
 had abundance of acquired knowledge, as  
 we have said elsewhere; and he also employ-  
 ed his credit for those, who were charged with  
 the interests of their little republics: so that  
 his house was a kind of common asylum, and

(*a*) Ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁμοίαν | καὶ θά, περὶ ὅπως αἰχμη-  
 τῶν ἐχέοντο τῶν πλεονέκων, | λώτῳ καὶ βαρβάρῳ.

Prytaneum



Prytaneum for all the Greeks who came to Rome. A, R 689.  
Ant.C.63.

Pleasure and letters did not so entirely engross the last years of Lucullus, as to prevent him from having some share in the publick affairs; but this was but indolently and by intervals. I shall not omit an occasion to give a place to what it remains for me to say of him.

I return to the consulship of Cicero and Catilina's conspiracy; but first I think it necessary to speak here of the birth of Augustus, which happened on the 22d of *September* of this same year. Abundance of fables have been vented on this subject, and sycophant authors have not failed to embellish with predictions the birth of the Master of the World. They say, that Cn. Octavius, his father, coming late to the senate, and having excused himself on his wife's being in labour, Nigidius Figulus cried out, *Your wife has just now given us a Master.* Nigidius was a senator of great learning, and had made judicial astrology his particular study. There is reason to believe, that what our sacred oracles foretold concerning the coming of the Messiah, has also been applied to the birth of Augustus. The times were near each other: and the rumour of those divine prophecies had spread amongst the Pagans. Traces of them were found in the Sibyl's book: Virgil. and at that time it was a general opinion, Eccl. IV. according to Suetonius, that nature was in labour, and was preparing to bring forth the King of the Universe. But nothing is more absurd than what the same Suetonius tells us, after a freedman of Augustus called Julius

A.R. 689. Julius Marathus. This Marathus had wrote,  
 Ant.C.63. that the senate, terrified by the predictions which spread, had passed a decree to prohibit the bringing up of any children, who should be born that year; and that this decree had been suppressed by those whose wives were with child. It would be having too much regard to such an idle story, only to refute it.

Nor is any more stress to be laid on a pretended dream of Catulus, who, as it is said, after having dedicated the capitol, saw two nights successively a young child receiving particular marks of favour from Jupiter, and destined by that god to be the guardian and defender of the commonwealth. Catulus did not know that child. But it is added, that the next day after his second dream, having met young Octavius, he knew him to be the same he had seen in the arms of Jupiter. This fable is so ill invented, that it is dated at the same time with the consecration of the capitol, which is seven years prior to the birth of Augustus.

*Catiline  
 reani-  
 mates his  
 party.*

Cic. in  
 Catil.  
 Sallust.  
 Plut. in  
 Cic. &  
 Crasso &  
 Cæsar. &  
 Caton.  
 Dio. L.  
 xxxvii.  
 Appian.  
 Civ. L.II.

At the time he was born, the intrigues of Catiline were carried to their utmost height, and had spread the alarm throughout the whole city. After he had failed of the consulship, there was no kind of springs, that he did not set a-going, nor any efforts which he did not make himself, to reinstate his party after so rude a blow; and he succeeded in it. He strengthened himself more than ever, made provision of arms in different parts of Italy, raised all the money he possibly could on his own credit, and that of his friends, and sent those sums to \* Fesulæ in Etruria to be

\* *Ficuli in Tuscany.*

deposited in the hands of one Mallius, who A. R 686.  
 had formerly served with distinction under Syl- Ant. C. 63.  
 la, and afterwards having contracted an union  
 with Catilina from the ties of guilt and mis-  
 fortune, was the first who took arms openly.  
 Catilina also attached several new adherents to Several  
 him, and made even a considerable number of women of  
 women of quality engage in his plot, who for quality en-  
 debauchery and impudence gave place in no- ter into  
 thing to the vilest of mankind. His design the con-  
 was to use them for making the slaves rife, piracy.  
 for setting fire to the city, and for bringing  
 over their husbands, or for ridding himself of  
 them.

Sallust names only one of them ; and I be- Character  
 lieve, it is equally in vain and impossible to of Sem-  
 guess at the rest. But he paints her whom he pronica.  
 mentions with so masterly an hand, that I  
 can neither hope nor think of equalling him.  
 . Sempronia, that was the name of this woman,  
 had birth, beauty, and had she been capable  
 of prudence in her conduct, was happy in  
 her husband and children. Versed in the  
 Greek and Roman Letters, as well as in those  
 dangerous arts which are proper to adorn  
 vice, (a) she sang, she danced, says the Hi-  
 storian, with more taste and elegance than  
 suited a woman of honour. She wanted none  
 of the little arts that allure the vicious ; and  
 there was nothing at all times that she re-  
 garded less than the rules of virtue. It  
 were hard to determine, whether she was  
 more prodigal of her money or of her re-  
 putation. She was not one of those timo-  
 rous bashful women, who even in vice re-

(a) Psallere, saltare elegantius quàm necesse est probæ.

A.R. 689. tain at least some outside of decency: her  
 Ant.C. 63. front never knew a blush, and vice in her  
 wore it's natural dress of barefaced impu-  
 dence. Debauchery had led her on to the  
 most atrocious actions. To betray her sworn  
 faith, to forswear herself for denying a de-  
 posite or a debt, to be an accomplice in mur-  
 ders, these were all but sport to her. With  
 this blackness of soul were however united the  
 charms of wit; she made verses, could jest  
 and rally agreeably, shone amazingly in  
 conversation, and could assume either the  
 style of modesty or assurance, according to  
 the taste of those she was desirous to please:  
 there was much gaiety, many graces in her  
 manner and discourse; qualities, which fre-  
 quently pass for virtues, and, as we see in  
 this example, agree but too well with guilt and  
 wickedness.

*Catilina*  
*stands a-*  
*gain for the*  
*Consulship*  
*His com-*  
*petitors.*  
 Cic. pro  
 Mar.

Catilina was always sensible that he stood in  
 need of the Consulship for the execution of  
 his schemes. He resolved therefore to stand  
 for it again, relying as much as ever upon  
 the Consul Antonius, and convinced that if  
 he succeeded in being nominated, he should  
 again find a friend in him ready to do him  
 service. He had three competitors, D. Ju-  
 nius Silanus, L. Licinius Murena, and Serv.  
 Sulpicius Rufus. It appears, that Silanus was  
 immediately elected without difficulty: so that  
 one of the Consulships remained in dispute  
 between three pretenders.

Pompon.  
 de Orig.  
 Juris.

Sulpicius was a man of worth, of a Patri-  
 cian family, and the greatest Lawyer, that  
 Rome had ever produced. The occasion that  
 determined him to embrace the study of the  
 Law, merits a place here. He pleaded with  
 great



great reputation, without having any know-  
ledge of Law, as was not uncommon with the  
Roman Advocates. In consequence he went to  
consult Q. Mucius Scævola upon an affair of  
one of his friends that perplexed him. Scævola  
explained to him the point of Law, in which the  
difficulty consisted, but Sulpicius could com-  
prehend nothing of it. Scævola repeated his  
information, and was no better understood than  
before. He thereupon severely reprimanded  
Sulpicius, and told him (*a*) that it was a shame  
for a Patrician, a person of a great family,  
and a pleading Advocate, to be ignorant of the  
Law, of which he had occasion every instant.  
Sulpicius stung with that reproach, devoted  
himself to the study of the Law with so much  
ardour and success, that he excelled all who had  
preceded him. From henceforth that Science  
wholly engrossed him: He almost entirely re-  
nounced the exercise of Eloquence, and plead-  
ed very little; choosing rather says (*b*) Cicero,  
to be the first in an art, that held the second  
rank, than to be the second in that, to which  
the first belonged.

Such was Sulpicius, undoubtedly highly  
worthy of the Consulship: But Cicero says,  
that in standing for that supreme dignity, he  
acted in such a manner as to give Catilina  
great hopes, and shewed himself rather a severe  
and courageous Senator, than a dextrous and  
prudent Candidate. Cabal and corrupt can-  
vassing were an almost received custom in the  
election of the Magistrates. Sulpicius, who

(*a*) Turpe esse patricio, & nobili, & causis oranti, jus, in quo versaretur, ignorare.  
(*b*) Videtur mihi in secundâ arte primus esse, maluisse, quàm in primâ secundus. Cic. in *Bruto*, n. 151.

A R. 639. knew no methods but those of honour, sollici-  
 Ant.C. 63. ted a new Law against that abuse; and it was  
 on his instances, that Cicero was directed by  
 the Senate to draw up a law, which rose up-  
 on those already subsisting, and condemned  
 such as were guilty of corrupt convassing to (a)  
 banishment. Sulpicius, armed with this Law,  
 threatened to accuse his competitors, made en-  
 quiries into their conduct, collected proofs and  
 witnesses, always appearing sad and displeased,  
 and seeming to declare that he expected to lose  
 his election.

Catilina on the contrary carried his head  
 erect, wore an air of assurance, was surround-  
 ed with a train of gaudy youths, and guarded  
 by a multitude of audacious persons. The  
 support of a great number of military men, and  
 the promises of the Consul Antonius, gave  
 him new courage. A kind of army of Sylla's  
 soldiers surrounded him, who having been set-  
 tled as colonies at \* Arretium and Fesulæ,  
 \* Arczzo sought a new occasion of enriching themselves  
 by the misfortune of their fellow-citizens (b).  
 His discourses were full of arrogance, bold-  
 ness and fury were painted in his aspect: It  
 might had been said, that the Consulship could  
 not escape him, and that it was already in his  
 possession.

Murena, whom he affected to despise, was  
 however no contemptible competitor. He was  
 well born, though a Plebeian. His father,  
 grand-father, and great-grand-father had been  
 Prætors. His father had even triumphed, and

(a) *Dio limits this banishment to ten years.* sermo arrogantiae: sic ut ei jam exploratus & domi con-

(b) *Vultus erat ipsius ple- nus furoris, oculi sceleris,* Cic. *pro Mur.* ditus Consulatus videretur.

would certainly have attained the Consulship, A.R. 689. if not prevented by a too early death. Murena Ant.C.63. himself had been Lieutenant-General under Lucullus, and the triumph of the latter had very lately assembled his soldiers at Rome, the most fortunately in the world to favour the election of one of their principal officers. Add to this, that it is highly probable, Murena did not spare money for purchasing suffrages. He had given feasts to the People, and endeavoured by all kinds of methods to conciliate the favour of the citizens. And lastly, he was at bottom a man of honour, and a friend to the publick peace and tranquillity; which determined the wishes of all good men for his success, whom the hopes of Catilina extremely alarmed.

But that vile wretch had no greater obstacles to overcome, than those which Cicero laid in his way. The vigilant Consul watched all his motions. From the beginning of his Consulship, he had gained Curius, one of the heads of the conspiracy, by the means of Fulvia; and by making him great promises, had engaged him to give him an account of all that Catilina said and did. It was no doubt by this channel, that Cicero was informed of a new assembly, which Catilina had held in his house, of his principal adherents, and in which he had said, “ (a) that no body could be a faithful and constant defender of the unfortunate, except

*Cicero de-  
tects all  
his mea-  
sures.*

(a) Miserorum fidelem perare vellent, spectarent defensorem (neminem) inveniri posse, nisi eum qui ipse miser esset: integrorum & fortunatorum promissis faucios & miseros credere non oportere: quare qui consumpta replere, erepta recu-

perare vellent, spectarent quid ipse deberet, quid consideret, quid auderet: minime timidum & valde calamitosum esse oportere eum qui esset futurus dux & signifer calamitosorum. Cic.

A R 689 “ himself were unfortunate ; that men whose  
 Ant.C.63 “ affairs were in a bad condition, ought not to  
 “ trust in the promises of those, who enjoyed  
 “ assured affluence ; that consequently all those,  
 “ who desired to regain what they had spent,  
 “ and recover what had been taken from them,  
 “ had only to cast their eyes on him, and to  
 “ consider what he possessed, how many debts  
 “ he owed, and what he was capable of dar-  
 “ ing ; that the Leader and Standard-bearer  
 “ of the wretched ought to be extremely mi-  
 “ serable, and void of all fear, himself.”

Cicero speaks to him in the full Se-  
 nate, and forces him to take off the mask.

The rumour of such violent and dangerous discourses spread in the city, and it is to be believed, that this was an effect of Cicero's influence. He immediately caused a decree of the Senate to be passed for putting off the Assembly of the People, which was to be held the next day, and in which the next election was to be completed. Instead of an assembly of the People, there was one of the Senate, to which Catilina having repaired, Cicero addressed himself to him, and bid him clear himself in respect to the facts I have just related. Catilina was not in the least disconcerted. Audacious to excess, but assuming an air of modesty : *What then is my crime,* says he ? *There (a) are two bodies in the Commonwealth, the one weak with an Head no less weak :* (he meant the Senate, of which the Consul was the Head) *the other strong and powerful, but without an Head.* (This was the People.) *This latter body,* added he, *has de-*

(a) Duo corpora esse Reipublicæ, unum debile infirmo capite, alterum firmum sine capite. Huic, quum ita de se meritum esset, caput, se vivo, non desuturum. Cic.



*served too well of me to be suffered to want an* A.R. 689.  
*Head, when it stands in need of one, whilst I* Ant.C.63.  
*live.* Cicero says with reason, that by this  
 answer Catilina did not purge, but unmask and  
 avow himself, as he declared himself the chief  
 of the party against the Senate and Consul.  
 He had explained himself still more openly  
 some days before, in speaking to Cato, who  
 threatened to accuse him (a). *If a fire be kind-*  
*led to destroy my house and fortunes, I shall ex-*  
*tinguish it not with water, but by demolishing*  
*and ruins.* This was saying plainly, that he  
 should not confine himself to the common me-  
 thods for defending himself against the accu-  
 sation; and that if he must perish, at least  
 he would not perish alone.

It is surprizing, that after such declarations  
 Catilina could reside undisturbed at Rome, and  
 continue to stand for the supreme magistracy.  
 But at that time the Laws had so little force,  
 and the party of this horrid wretch was so  
 formidable, that the Senate chose rather to  
 suffer his audaciousness, than to take vigorous  
 measures for checking it.

Catilina went further: He carried armed *Catilina*  
 persons into the field of Mars, to assassinate the *resolves to*  
 Consul even in the assembly in which he presided. *assassinate*  
 Cicero, who was apprized of his design, used *the Consul*  
 precautions against it. He made a numerous *in the field*  
 train of his friends and clients attend him; *of Mars.*  
 he even wore under his consular robes a large *He fails*  
 cuirass, which he took care to shew, that the *of the Con-*  
 good citizens might know the danger the per- *sulship.*  
 son of their Consul was in, and their zeal be  
 the more animated by that new motive. All

(a) Si quod esset in suas tum, id se non aquâ, sed  
 fortunas incendium excita- ruinâ restitutum.

A R 639 the efforts of Catilina were in consequence  
 Ant.C.63- frustrated. He could neither effect destroying  
 Cicero, nor to be elected Consul ; and Murena  
 was preferred.

*He deter-  
 mines to  
 make open  
 war.*

Catilina in despair resolved to push things to the last extremities, and to make war openly, as his secret intrigues could not succeed. He dispatched (a) Mallius to Fesulæ, one Septimius into Picenum and one C. Julius into Apulia, with orders to assemble the malecontents every where, and to make them take arms. As for himself, he continued still at Rome, concerting ambuscades for the Consul, making the necessary preparations for setting that city on fire in several parts, and securing the most important posts in it. He had sufficient strength of body and mind for all this ; night and day he was in action ; no fatigue nor watching were too much for him.

*Informa-  
 tion given  
 Cicero by  
 Crassus.  
 Plut.  
 Cic.  
 Crass.*

Cicero received advice of what passed by a means not a little extraordinary. In the middle of the night, Crassus, M. Marcellus, and Metellus Scipio, came to his gate, and having caused him to be called up, put into his hand a packet of letters, that had been brought to him after supper by a man unknown. Amongst those letters there was one for Crassus himself, but without a name ; the rest were directed to different persons. Crassus having opened his, and seeing, that he was advised to quit Rome, because Catilina was soon to make a great slaugh-

(a) I have spoken before of Catilina in standing for the Mallius, as being already at Consulship : Or else what is Fesulæ. In that I followed related of him before may be Sallust, as I do here. Per- understood, as said by way of haps Mallius had come to anticipation.  
 Rome in the interval to assist

ter in it; struck with horror and dread, and A. R. 689.  
 being desirous to obviate the suspicions, which Ant C. 63.  
 his long union with the Chief of the conspiracy  
 might occasion, he went immediately to carry  
 all those letters to the Consul. Cicero assem-  
 bled the Senate, delivered each the letter direct-  
 ed to him, caused them all to be read; and  
 they were found to contain advices to the same  
 effect as the letter directed to Crassus.

The danger was thought extreme: And it *Decree to*  
 appears, that it was in this (a) assembly, which *charge the*  
 was held the 21st of October; that recourse *Consuls to*  
 was at last had to that form of Decree, by *take care,*  
 which the Senate gave the Consuls unlimited *that the*  
 power: It was in substance, “that the Consuls *Common-*  
 “ should provide for the publick security, so *wealth*  
 “ that the Commonwealth should receive no *should re-*  
 “ prejudice.” In consequence of this decree; *ceive no*  
 troops were assembled, and those already as- *prejudice.*  
 sembled and on foot were employed. Q. Ma- *Sallust.*  
 rius Rex, who had commanded in Cilicia, be-  
 fore Pompey was sent against Mithridates, and  
 Q. Metellus Creticus, had long been at the gates  
 of Rome without being able to obtain triumphs.  
 As they had not yet entered the city, they had  
 retained the authority of Proconsuls, and their  
 troops were not yet disbanded. Those two  
 Proconsuls received orders to march, the one  
 towards Fesulæ and the other towards Apulia.  
 Q. Pompeius Rufus, and Q. Metellus Celer,  
 were each commissioned to form an army, and  
 to move the first towards Capua, where advice  
 came, that the slaves were concerting insur-  
 rections, and the other into Picenum. At the

(a) I depart here a lit- authority, that of Cicero in  
 tle from the order of time his first against Catiline.  
 in Sallust; but with good



A.R. 637. same time rewards were offered to any persons  
 Ant.C 63. whatsoever, who should give information concerning the designs that were carrying on against the Commonwealth, though themselves were accomplices; namely liberty, and an \* hundred thousand sesterces to a slave; and impunity and † two hundred thousand sesterces to a Freeman. And lastly, a guard was kept in Rome, as in a place of war, and the subaltern Magistrates were appointed to command it.

\* About  
 625 l.  
 † About  
 1250 l.

*Trouble  
 and consternation  
 at Rome.*

All these (a) preparations, all these extraordinary precautions entirely changed the face of the city, and spread consternation every where, instead of the licentiousness and dissolute gaiety, that reigned there before. People went to and fro with concern and trouble. No place seemed sufficiently safe; nor was there any man, that another thought he could trust. There was no war on foot, and yet they were not in peace. Fear still augmented the danger. The women especially, who in so powerful a city were ignorant of the calamities of war, abandoned themselves to groans and tears, lifted up their hands to Heaven, and declared the fate of their young children. Attentive to inform themselves of all things, every word, every rumour, made them tremble. They were no

(a) Quibus rebus permota civitas, atque immutata facies urbis erat. Ex summâ lætitiâ atque lasciviâ, quæ diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit. Festinare, trepidare; neque loco, neque homini cuiquam satis credere; neque bellum gerere, neque pacem habere; suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc, mulieres, quibus pro magnitudine rei publicæ belli timor insolitus inceserat, afflictare sese, manus supplices ad cælum tendere; misereri parvos liberos, cogitare, omnia pavere: superbiâ atque deliciis omissis sibi patriæque diffidere.

longer



longer intent upon pomp and voluptuousness, A.R. 689.  
 their usual occupations, the danger in common *Act C. 63.*  
 to them with their country engrossed them  
 entirely.

The danger increased every instant. Mal- *Mallius*  
 lius having drawn considerable force, together *take arms.*  
 in Etruria, openly took arms the twenty- *Catiline*  
 seventh of October; and Catiline, engaged to *endeavours*  
 see that hitherto he had succeeded in nothing *in vain to*  
 in the city, on the sixth of November in the *have the*  
 night called an assembly of his principal par- *proposal*  
 tisans at the house of M. Porcius Læca. There, *in his*  
 after having reproached them sharply with their *house.*  
 cowardice, to which he ascribed the bad success  
 of all his enterprizes, he gave them an account  
 of the present state of things, and distributed  
 their employments and posts amongst them,  
 both within and without the city. He added,  
 that he was desirous to set out immediately, to  
 put himself at the head of the army, which  
 was formed in Etruria; but that it was neces-  
 sary first to rid himself of Cicero, who hurt  
 him strangely. Most of the conspirators were  
 terrified at the proposal. Two Roman Knights,  
 one of whom was called C. Cornelius, shewed  
 more resolution than the rest, and offered to go  
 at day-break under pretence of saluting the  
 Consul, and to assassinate him in his bed. Cu-  
 rius, seeing the danger that threatened Cicero's  
 life, immediately, apprized Fulvia of it. In  
 consequence, when the two Knights came to  
 enter his house, the doors were shut against  
 them, and Cicero escaped this danger also.

The same day he held an assembly of the *He comes*  
 Senate, in which Catiline had the impudence *to the Sen-*  
 to appear, though the publick rumours suffi- *ci-*  
 ciently informed him, that his designs were dis- *Cic. in*  
 covered, *Catil. 1.*

A.R. 685. covered, and though he was accused actually by  
 Ant.C.65. L. Paulus, as guilty of practices contrary to  
 the tranquillity and safety of the city and State.  
 A criminal conscience usually discovers itself  
 in some manner or another. Catilina seemed to  
 have given an opening against himself in re-  
 spect to this accusation, by offering to remain  
 in a strange house, and in the custody of some  
 known citizen, to remove, as he said, all sus-  
 picion (*a*). Was it not denouncing chains and  
 imprisonment to himself, as Cicero reproaches  
 him, to acknowledge that it was necessary for  
 him to be in custody? But besides, this offer on-  
 ly served to make him sensible, to what degree  
 he was feared and detested. M. Lepidus, in  
 whose house he at first proposed to go and  
 lodge, refused him. Cicero did the same;  
 declaring, that he could never consent to live  
 under the same roof with a person, from whom  
 he did not think himself secure within the com-  
 pass of the same city. The Prætor Metellus  
 Cæsar likewise rejected him: So that he was  
 obliged to have recourse to one M. Marcellus,  
 a man almost as much suspected as himself,  
 and one of his ancient friends.

He however resumed his equally dissembling  
 and audacious character for coming to the  
 Senate, as if the question was only concerning  
 idle rumours and false suspicions, that he was  
 capable of dispelling by appearing with an  
 air of confidence. But he found that his dis-  
 simulation imposed upon no body, and he  
 received in entering a new testimony of the

(*a*) Quàm longè videtur à jam dignum custodiâ judi-  
 carcere atque à vinculis a- caverit! *Cic. in Catil. I.*  
 beſſe debere, qui ſe ipſum 19.

publick hatred and detestation ; for of so great a number of Senators, many of whom were his relations and friends, not one saluted him ; and when he had taken his place, all that were near him, and who were the principal and most illustrious of that Order, removed, and left all the side where he was vacant.

Nor was this all. Cicero attacked him in a vehement Speech, which is come down to us, and of which every body knows the abrupt and warm exordium, that fear and indignation extorted from the Consul (a). *How far then, Catilina, will you carry the abuse of our patience? How long will your phrenzy deride us; and what end will your boundless audaciousness have? Will nothing move you, nothing shake you? Neither the unusual precaution of posting a body of troops by night upon mount Palatine; the guards kept throughout the city; the general consternation; the concurrence of all good men against you; this strong fortified place for holding the Senate; nor the aspect and looks of all who bear me, and behold you with horror? Do you not perceive, that your designs are discovered?*

*Cicero addresses a discourse to him, and attacks him openly.*  
In Catil. I.

(a) Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientiâ nostrâ? quamdiu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? Nihilne te nocturnum præsidium palatii, nihil urbis vigilæ, nihil timor populi, nihil concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi Senatûs locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt? Patere tua consilia non sentis? Constrictam jam omnium horum conscientiâ te-

neri conjurationem tuam non vides? quid proximâ, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii ceperis, quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris? O tempora! ô mores! Senatus hæc intelligit, Consul videt. Ille tamen vivit. Vivit! imo verò etiam in Senatum venit: notat & designat oculis ad eadem unumquemque nostrum. Nos autem, viri fortes, satî facere Reipublicæ videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus

*that*



A.R. 639 *that your conspiracy, which is now known to*  
 AEL. C. 63. *every one here, is shackled, and in fetters? Which of us, do you think, does not know, as well what you did last night and the night before, as where you was, with whom you held council, and what resolution you took? O Times! O Manners! The Senate is informed of all these things, the Consul sees them; and yet this man lives! What do I say, Lives! Ay! and comes into the Senate, is admitted to the publick Council; and marks and destines with his eyes such of us, as he intends for the slaughter. Whilst we, valiant men, good citizens; think we discharge our duty to the Commonwealth, provided we escape the pbrenzy and daggers of this butcher.*

Cicero supports this style throughout the whole sequel of the Speech. He proves, that C. Gracchus, Saturninus, and all the bad citizens, against whom the Commonwealth used violence, did not deserve death so much as Catilina. He reproaches himself and the Senate with the indolence of their conduct in respect to an enemy of his country. He repeats to him the particulars of great part of his measures, and especially of what had passed the night before at the house of Porcius Læca: And as he saw some persons in the Senate, who had been present at that nocturnal assembly, he cried out (a); *O ye immortal*

(a) O Dii immortales! interitu, qui de hujus urbis, ubinam gentium sumus? atque adeo Orbis terrarum quam Rempublicam habemus? in qua urbe vivimus? exitio cogitant. Hosce ego video Consul, & de Republica sententiam rogo; & Hic, hic sunt in nostro numero, Patres Conscripti, in quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos nondum voce vulgavissimoque consilio, qui ce meo nostrumque omnium

*Gods,*



*Gods, in what part of the world are we? What State, what Commonwealth is this? In what city do we live? Here, Fathers, in this very place, in the midst of ourselves, in this the most august and venerable Assembly of the whole Earth, are men who are now actually meditating, and making preparations for, my death, for the deaths of us all, for the destruction of this City, and consequently of the Universe in general. I see them, I who am Consul; I ask them to give their opinions in their turn upon the publick affairs: And those who ought to be immediately executed, I must not so much as offend with words.*

He afterwards takes advantage of the declaration made by Catilina at Porcius Læca's, and the desire he had expressed of quitting Rome immediately, and from thence exhorts him to put that design in execution. He presses him to remove from the city, and even commands him to do so: But he does not go so far as to give him an order to that effect in form, and does not make the Senate deliberate upon it. This reserve, which may seem timidity, was prudence. Cicero observes in this Speech, that there were some Senators, who either did not, or would not, see the danger, with which the Commonwealth was threatened; who had increased Catilina's hopes by the indolent manner, in which they had given their opinions concerning him, and strengthened the growing conspiracy, by affecting not to believe it. Those Senators, who were not persons of the least credit, drew others into their opinion: So that, if the Consul had acted immediately with all the severity, that the greatness of the crime and danger required, he might not only have been accused of

A.R. 689. of cruelty and tyranny by the bad citizens,  
 Ant.C.63. but even by well inclined persons, for want of  
 being better informed. Whereas, if Catilina  
 quitted Rome, and went to put himself at  
 the head of Mallius's army, he then took off  
 the mask, his crime was fully discovered, and  
 no body could any longer take upon them to  
 defend him. These reflections were solid :  
 and Cicero's banishment will be too evident a  
 proof of the danger he would have incurred,  
 had he been too precipitate in this affair.

*Catilina's  
 answer.*

The Consul's speech should, one would  
 think, have thunderstruck Catilina. But no-  
 thing could disconcert his audacity. He as-  
 sumed a modest tone and the air of a suppli-  
 ant, and desired the Senators not to be too  
 hasty in believing him criminal. He repre-  
 sented, " that he was descended from an  
 " house, and from his youth had observed a  
 " conduct, that must necessarily have raised  
 " him to the highest fortunes, without his  
 " having need to have recourse to crimes for  
 " the attainment of them. That in conse-  
 " quence they could not think, a Patrician  
 " like him, in whose favour both his own ser-  
 " vices, and those of his ancestors, spoke,  
 " should conceive thoughts of subverting the  
 " Commonwealth ; whilst it should have for  
 " it's Preserver a Cicero, a man of nothing,  
 " and scarce a citizen of Rome." He added  
 other injurious terms in respect to the Con-  
 sul. But the whole Senate rose up against  
 him, and treating him as an enemy of the  
 State and a parricide, they forced him to quit  
 the Assembly in fury.

After

After this open proceeding he had no longer any measure to observe. He departed the same night with three hundred men armed, after having given orders to Cethegus, Lentulus Sura, and the other chiefs of the enterprise, to compleat what he had been obliged to leave imperfect, that is, to assassinate the Consul, and set fire to the city; promising them that he would soon be at the gates of Rome with a great army. However to render the Consul odious, it was given out, that he had banished Catilina on his private authority; and that the latter, not to interrupt the tranquillity of the city and his fellow-citizens, had chosen to retire to Massyllia (*Marseilles*).

It was impossible for this discourse not to give Cicero disquiet, but it diminished nothing of his zeal and activity. He assembled the People the next day after Catilina's departure, and in giving them an account of that important event, he did not omit to acquit himself of two imputations laid to him at the same time, though directly contradictory to each other. Some accused him of indolence and neglect, for not having put a public enemy to death; and others of rigour next to tyrannical, for having, said they, illegally banished a citizen. I have already explained the motives, that prevented him from acting with greater rigour: and as to the other point, he absolutely denies the fact, and as a perfect vindication of himself foretels the speedy arrival of Catilina in the camp of Mallius. He fully refutes what was affirmed of his retreat to Marseilles, and on that

A.R. 689.  
Ant.C.63.  
*He quits Rome.*

*Cicero's Oration to the People on Catilina's departure.*  
Catil. II.



A.R. 689. head employs sentiments highly worthy of a  
 Ant.C.65. supreme Magistrate.

He observes, that if Catilina should change his plan and resolution, and should really banish himself to Marseilles, a thousand tongues would exclaim against the Consul: That he should not be thanked for having deprived an enemy of his country of all resource, and depressed, and reduced him to despair, but should be accused of having forced by his menaces, without any juridical proceeding, an innocent man to go into banishment; that he should find people, who would consider Catilina, not as a criminal, but an unfortunate person: and that as for him, he should be treated not as a vigilant Consul, but as a cruel and insupportable tyrant. *Well (a) Romans*, adds he, *I shall not complain. I consent to expose my head to the storm, which a false and unjust pretence will excite against me; provided I thereby deliver you from the danger of the horrid and impious war prepared for you. Let it be said, that I have driven Catilina out of Rome; provided he is really gone into exile. But, believe me, that is what he will not do. I shall certainly never desire, that to spare myself unjust*

(a) Est mihi tanti, Quirites, hujus invidiæ falsæ atque iniquæ tempestatem subire, dummodo à vobis hujus horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur sanè ejectus esse à me, dummodo eat in exilium. Sed, mihi credite, non est iturus. Nunquam ego à diis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, invidiæ meæ levandæ causâ ut L. Catilinam ducere exerci-

tum hostium, atque in armis volitare audiat. Sed tri-duo tamen audietis: multoque magis illud timeo, ne mihi sit invidiosum aliquando, quòd illum emiserim potius, quàm ejecerim. Sed quum sint homines, qui illum, quum profectus sit, ejectum esse dicant, iidem, si interfectus esset, quid dicerent? II. in Catil. 15.

enmity,



enmity, you should be informed, that Catilina has A.R. 689.  
 put himself at the head of a body of enemies, Ant.C.63.  
 and is moving about the country with an army.  
 But such advice you will receive in three days;  
 and I am much more afraid, that I shall ra-  
 ther be reproached hereafter for having suffered  
 him to quit Rome, than for having driven him  
 out of it. My answer however is entirely rea-  
 dy. Now that he is departed at his own free-  
 choice, I am charged with having sent him into  
 banishment. What then would the same persons  
 have said, had I put him to death?

The rest of this discourse turns upon Cati-  
 lina's partisans, and expressly upon those he  
 had left in Rome. Cicero regrets, that their  
 leader had not taken them along with him.  
 He does not fear those, who have openly ta-  
 ken arms. (a) It is those, says he, whom I see  
 skipping about the Forum with an air of confi-  
 dence, besieging the doors of the Senate, and even  
 entering it, well perfumed, and adorned with  
 the brightest purple; these are they, who are  
 more to be feared by us, than the army itself of  
 Catilina. These are not deserters, but chosen  
 forces posted in ambuscade, and threaten our  
 lives in a more eminent degree. I fear them

(a) Hos quos video volita-  
 re in foro, quos stare ad cu-  
 riam, quos etiam in Senatum  
 venire; qui nitent unguentis,  
 qui fulgent purpura, mallet  
 secum suos milites eduxisset:  
 qui si hîc permanent, me-  
 mentote non tam exercitum  
 illum esse nobis, quam hos,  
 qui exercitum deseruere, per-  
 timescendos. Atque hîc eti-  
 am sunt timendi magis, quòd,

quid cogitent, me sciere sen-  
 tiunt: neque tamen permo-  
 ventur. II in Catil.

Nec tam timendus est  
 nunc exercitus Catilina,  
 quam isti, qui illum ex-  
 ercitum deseruisse dicuntur.  
 Non enim deseruerunt: sed  
 ab illo in speculis atque infi-  
 diis relictî, in capite atque in  
 cervicibus nostris restiterunt.  
 Pro Mur. n. 79.

A.R. 689. *the more, as they know, that I am acquainted with*  
 Ant C 63. *what they meditate, and however do not seem con-*

*cerned in the least upon that account.* He exhorts them therefore to follow the steps of their General: He endeavours to terrify them, by declaring that if they remain in the city, they had no father indulgence to hope from him; that on the first movement they made for the execution of their detestible projects, they must expect to be treated as enemies; and that chains, imprisonment, and death, shall be their portion.

He too well knew the invincible hardness of heart of those abandoned wretches, to hope that his exhortations and menaces would make much impression upon them. Accordingly concluding, that he should be obliged to proceed to the utmost rigours, he encourages the People against the dread they might have, of some trouble and commotion on the occasion of the punishment of persons of such high rank. *(a) All that we shall have to do, says he, we shall so conduct, that the greatest affairs may be decided with the least noise; that extreme dangers may be removed without tumult; that an intestine and domestick war, the most cruel that ever was, may be terminated without so much as your Leader and Consul's quitting the robe of peace.* Remarkable words, which shew, that Cicero had already in his head the whole plan and disposition of the conduct, he should observe in respect to the conspirators;

(a) Atque hæc omnia sic cum, post hominum memo-  
 agenter, Quirites, ut res max- riam crudelitissimum ac maxi-  
 imæ minimo motu, particu- mum, me uno togato duce  
 la summa nullo tumultu bel- & imperatore sedetur. II. in  
 lum internum ac domesti- Catil. 23.

for

for we shall see the prediction he now makes to the People exactly verified. A.R. 689.  
Ant.C.63.

In the midst of such important and urgent affairs, Cicero found the necessary time and freedom of mind for pleading the cause of Murena the Consul elect, prosecuted as guilty of corrupt canvassing by several accusers, of whom the principal were Ser. Sulpicius, who had stood for the consulship, and Cato, actually elected Tribune of the People. The accused had still no less illustrious defenders, Crassus, Hortensius, and Cicero. His affair was delicate. I have already said, it is very probable, that Murena, as well as most of his competitors, had distributed money to purchase suffrages; and the authority of Cato was terribly in his prejudice. That rigid observer of the Laws had declared in full Senate, before the election of the Consuls, that if any of the Candidates, excepting however Silanus who was his brother in-law, should employ corruption, he would accuse him. He kept his word, and accused Murena. But he acted in the prosecution with an openness and generosity, that well deserves to be remembered in this place.

It was the custom, that the accused should give the accuser a kind of guardian and overseer, to accompany him every where, to inspect into all his proceedings, and to make an exact report of the whole to the person so interested in it. The trusty person, whom Murena had charged with this commission, observing the simplicity and candour of Cato's behaviour; no artifices, no evasions, no subtilties, was struck with admiration at it; and on his side acted so frankly with him, that

*Frank and candid behaviour of Cato as Murena's accuser.*



A. R. 689. when they came to the Forum in the morning,  
 Ant. C. 63. he asked him, whether he should apply himself  
 that day to any thing relating to the accusation ;  
 and if Cato replied in the negative, he went  
 about his business, relying entirely upon his word.  
 Cato however attacked Murena with no less force  
 and vehemence, so as not to spare even Cicero  
 his advocate.

*Cicero's  
 Oration.*

I should be very glad to be allowed to give  
 an account with some extent of the Oration,  
 which Cicero pronounced on this occasion.  
 It is indisputably one of the best of his dis-  
 courses. Perhaps there is not more address,  
 art, and salt in any of them. The qualities  
 of the heart are still more to be admired in it  
 than the talents of the mind. Humanity, mo-  
 deration, affection for his friends, attention  
 and address in reconciling duties that seem  
 opposite ; in a word, all the attributes of an  
 elevated genius, a noble soul, shine out in  
 their turns, and render the Orator entirely  
 amiable to all, who are not void of elevated  
 sentiments. But not to divert the Reader  
 from the series of facts, I shall confine my-  
 self solely to what regards Cato, whose autho-  
 rity Cicero finds means to weaken, without  
 failing in any kind of deference due to his  
 virtue.

*Address  
 with  
 which he  
 treats  
 what re-  
 gards Cato.*

He gives him the highest personal praises :  
 he extols in him his elevation of soul, his tem-  
 perance, his magnanimity ; in a word, all the  
 virtues that constitute the great man. But he  
 turns the doctrine of the Stoicks into ridicule,  
 for which Cato's attachment and zeal were  
 well known. He chose amongst the opinions  
 of those Philosophers, what was most exces-  
 sive and irrational : That the wise man alone  
 is



is handsome, though as a deformed as a Ther- A.R. 689.  
 tes; that he is rich, though in a state of beg- Ant.C.63.  
 gary; a King even though a slave; and that  
 all, who do not attain to the sublime perfec-  
 tion of a Sage, are vagrant slaves, exiles, ene-  
 mies and madmen: That all sins are equal;  
 that the slightest failing is an abominable crime;  
 and that he, who kills a cock without reason  
 or occasion is no less culpable, than the unna-  
 tural son, who murders his farther. How ex-  
 travagant those maxims are is evident; and  
 no less, that the ridicule cast by Cicero upon  
 the doctrine, fell indirectly upon him who had  
 embraced, and openly professed it. Cato him-  
 self in consequence could not help laughing, at  
 least affected a laugh, and said with an equivocal  
 kind of a sneer, (a) *Really we have a very plea-  
 sant Consul.*

Cicero did not stop there, and his jesting *Murena is*  
 was only introductory to very serious *refle-* *acquitted.*  
 xions. Cato had said, that it was the interest  
 of the Commonwealth, which had induced  
 him to accuse Murena. Cicero proves, that  
 he is mistaken; and that the real danger of  
 the State required, that it should retain a Con-  
 sul attached to the publick Good, and that the  
 situation of Murena's fortune, as well as his  
 natural disposition, made him a friend to peace  
 and tranquillity. At the time that he spoke  
 thus, he knew, that Lentulus, and his asso-  
 ciates, were making all their preparations for  
 massacring the Senate, and burning the city.  
 He employs that consideration for terrifying  
 the Judges, by insinuating to them, that the  
 question in this cause was not the interest of

(a) Ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς γελοῖον ὑπαίον ἔχοιμεν. *Plut.*

A.R. 689 a private person, but the preservation of the  
 Ant.C. 63. State; and that in depriving Murena of the  
 Consulship, and consequently involving the  
 Commonwealth again in the perplexity of a  
 new election, they exposed themselves to pe-  
 rishing with their wives and children. This  
 highly important view made an impression up-  
 on the Judges. They did not think it con-  
 sistent so much as to hear the proofs of cor-  
 rupt canvassing, whilst the safety of the Pub-  
 lick made it necessary to have two Consuls in  
 the month of January at the head of the go-  
 vernment. Murena was acquitted; and Cato  
 himself, as we shall see in the sequel, had no  
 reason to complain, that the Consul's eloquence  
 had triumphed over his severity.

*Catiline  
 goes to the  
 camp of  
 Marius.*

In the mean time Catiline was removing  
 from Rome. He had scarce quitted it, when  
 he wrote many letters conformably to the ru-  
 mours spread by his partisans concerning him.  
 He protested his innocence, and affirmed, that  
 being oppressed by the faction of his enemies,  
 he gave way to his hard fortune, and was re-  
 tiring to Marseilles. At the same time Catulus  
 received a letter from him, and read it in  
 the Senate, in a very different stile. Catiline  
 took off the mask in it. He declared in ex-  
 press terms, “ that he had taken upon him  
 “ the common cause of the unfortunate. That  
 “ driven to extremities by the injustice of his  
 “ enemies, and seeing unworthy men raised  
 “ to honours, whilst the most atrocious sus-  
 “ picions were cast upon him, he had embra-  
 “ ced the sole resource that was left him for  
 “ the support of his fortune and dignity.”  
 This was explaining himself clearly enough:  
 and if there remained any obscurity in his ex-  
 pressions,

pressions, his conduct made them easy to comprehend; for advice came almost at the same time, that he had assumed the Fasces and Lictors, and with some troops, that he had drawn together in the places through which he had passed, he was going to join Mallius.

The latter before the arrival of Catilina, seeing his forces sufficiently considerable, had ventured to make proposals to Marcius Rex, who had entered Etruria with an army. He had sent Deputies to him to represent the sad situation of that great number of unfortunate persons under his command, whom the bad state of their affairs reduced to despair. He begged him to consider, “so many citizens well deserved, that the Commonwealth should resolve to relieve their misfortunes. But that however they were at least resolved to perish like men of courage, and not ’till they had first revenged their deaths.” Marcius had received this discourse, mingled with requests and threats, in the proper manner, and had answered Mallius’s Deputies, that they had nothing to hope, ’till they had first laid down their arms.

The Senate being informed of all this passed a decree, by which Catilina and Mallius were declared enemies of their country; promised pardon to such as had embraced their party, (except criminals capitally convicted) provided they quitted their camp, and laid down their arms within a time limited; and lastly, ordered the Consuls to levy troops; that Antonius should march with expedition against Catilina, and that Cicero should remain in the city to guard and defend it.

*They are both declared enemies of their country by the Senate,*

Neither



A.R. 689. Neither promises, nor menaces, could overcome the obstinacy of Catilina's adherents.

*Inveteracy  
of Catili-  
na's parti-  
sans.*

No one came to make discoveries; none laid down their arms: which gives Sallust (a) occasion to deplore the misfortune of the Roman People, arrived then to the highest degree of power, Lords of the whole Universe, enjoying at home tranquillity and riches, which amongst men, pass for the greatest goods, and at the same time nourishing in their bosom citizens so abandoned, as to be inveterately bent upon the destruction of themselves and the Commonwealth. There were even some, who not having any engagement hitherto with Catilina, set out in the present conjuncture to join him, and amongst others the son of a Senator called A. Fulvius; but his father caused him to be pursued, and having brought him back, put him to death according to his paternal right; saying, (b) that "he had given him birth for his country against Catilina, and not for Catilina against his country."

*The multi-  
tude fa-  
vour him.*

What is more astonishing, most of the multitude in Rome made vows for Catilina: so that Sallust affirms, that if that head of the vile had been successful in a first battle, or the advantage had been equal on both sides, there had been an end of the Commonwealth.

(a) Eâ tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani maxumè miserabile visum est: qui cum ad occasum ab ortu solis domita omnia armis parerent, domotium atque divitiarum, quæ prima mortales putant, affluerent, fuere ta-

men cives, qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. *Sallust.*

(b) *Prefatus non se Catilinæ illum adversus patriam, sed patriæ adversus Catilinam genuisse. Val. Max. V. 8.*

And



And he adds, that the victors would not long have enjoyed the fruits of their success; and that soon, one more powerful than them (whether we are to understand Pompey, or more probably Crassus, supported by Cæsar: taking the advantage of the state of weakness, to which their own victory might have reduced them, would have deprived them of Empire and Liberty. What a dangerous situation was this; and how much was the Commonwealth obliged to Cicero, who delivered it at such a time! He alone had forced Catilina to renounce the disguise, with which he covered himself, and to quit Rome: and whilst his colleague was marching against those, who had taken arms, he saved the city from domestic ambuscades, as I am going to relate.

Lentulus, according to Catilina's orders, was intent upon increasing the party, and to bring over all those, from whom he could hope any service. The \* Allobroges had at that time Deputies at Rome, who were come thither to complain of the avidity of the Roman Magistrates, and not obtaining any justice from the Senate, were highly discontented with their situation. The nation was deeply involved in debts, and the Ambassadors themselves owed great sums. In such circumstances, Lentulus assured himself, that he should easily bring them over; and he thought it gaining a great point, if he could form an alliance with an haughty and warlike nation, which could supply him with considerable troops, especially cavalry, of which his party was ab-

*Lentulus is for bringing the Allobroges into his party.*

\* A Gaulish nation, that inhabited the country between the Jura and the Rhone.

A. R. 689. solutely in want. He therefore caused one  
Ant. C. 63. Umbrenus, a merchant, to sound them, who  
had correspondents in Gaul, whither he had  
long traded.

Umbrenus accosted them in the Forum, and asked them the news from their country, and in what condition their nation was. Upon the complaints made by the Allobroges, he pretended to be much moved. *And what hopes,* said he, *have you of putting an end to so many calamities?* They answered, that they had none; and that the only remedy they knew for their misery was death. *Oh!* resumed Umbrenus, *if you are men of spirit, and capable of forming a resolution, I'll teach you a way to rid yourselves of your misfortunes.* These words gave the Allobroges great joy. They desired him to take compassion on them; assuring him, that there was nothing so difficult or dangerous, that they would not willingly attempt to deliver their nation from the debts that overwhelmed it. Umbrenus having brought them to the point he desired, carried them to the house of D. Brutus, Sempronia's husband, of whom we have spoke. He made Gabinius come to the same place, in order to give more weight and authority to his discourse. He then related to the Allobroges the whole plan of the conspiracy; told them the names of the principal heads of it, to which he even added some illustrious personages, who had no share in it, to give those Gauls the greater hopes; and after having made them promise to enter into the plot, he dismissed them to their own home.

But

But when they were alone, and reflected upon what had been proposed to them, they found themselves in great perplexity. On one side the deplorable state of their nation, their disposition for war, and the hopes of great advantages from victory, were powerful motives. But, on the other, they considered all the forces of the Roman Empire; and no risque, no danger, but even certain rewards if they discovered so dangerous a conspiracy. After they had fluctuated some time, the good fortune of the Commonwealth prevailed, says Sallust: or rather the Divine Providence saved Rome, which it had made the Capital of the Universe. The Allobroges in consequence went to Q. Fabius Sanga, who was the patron and protector of this nation, no doubt because he was descended from Q. Fabius Allobrogicus. Every body knows, that according to the custom of the Romans, the conquerors of nations, and their descendants, became their protectors. Our Gauls informed Sanga of all that had been told them by Umbrenus. Sanga immediately apprized Cicero of it, who directed the Allobroges to feign great zeal for the success of the conspiracy; to see the conspirators; to make them great promises; and to endeavour to get some proofs from them, that might serve for their conviction.

The plan of the conspirators was entirely formed, and their last dispositions resolved. L. Bestia, Tribune of the People elect, and who was upon the point of entering into office, was to assemble the multitude, and inveigh against Cicero, as against a timorous man, that filled the city, with panick terrors, and by

A.R. 689.

Ant.C.63.

*They inform Cicero of the whole.*

*Plan of the conspirators for burning Rome.*



A.R. 689. by his ill-grounded fears, had occasioned a ve-  
 Ant.C. 63. ry unhappy war. This discourse was to be the signal to all those, who where in the secret, for acting the same night; each according to the province that had been allotted to him. Statilius and Gabinius were appointed to set fire to twelve different parts of Rome; for this service they had a great number of people under them, who had provided themselves with combustible materials: others were destined to stop the aqueducts and fountains, and to kill those who should go to them to fetch water. By the favour of this tumult they concluded it would be easy to come at Cicero, and the rest who where to be massacred. Cethegus had taken upon himself to besiege the Consul's house, and to kill him: every assassin had his peculiar victim: sons were to kill their fathers, and wives their husbands. The children of Pompey were to be secured; it not being the scheme to kill them, but to keep them as hostages, by way of precaution against their father's revenge, whose return was hourly expected. In this dreadful disorder Catilina was to arrive at the gates of Rome, in order to take those as in a net, who should escape out of the city, and join the other authors of this bloody execution.

Nothing now remained, but to fix the day. Lentulus referred it to the Saturnalia, which were about the end of December a time of licentiousness, foolish pleasures and debauch, which seemed proper to facilitate the enterprise. Cethegus could bear no delay. He was the most violent and fierce of them all; an executive man, and one who knew the value of every moment lost. He continually complained of the slowness and timidity of his



his associates. He affirmed, that by their ir-  
 resolution, and putting things off, from day to  
 day, they let the most favourable occasions es-  
 cape; that in such a danger it was necessary to  
 act, and not to deliberate; and that as to  
 himself, if only a small number would follow  
 him, he would leave the rest in their stupefac-  
 tion, and go and put the assembled Senate to  
 the sword.

In the mean time the Deputies of the Allo-  
 broges executed the Consul's orders. Being in-  
 troduced by Gabinius they saw the other Chiefs,  
 Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Cassius. They  
 represented to them, that they could not ex-  
 pect to be believed by their countrymen with-  
 out some instrument in writing. That it was  
 therefore proper, that Lentulus and the rest  
 should give them an oath in good form under  
 their hands and seals. All did so, except Cas-  
 sius, who was dispensed with under some pre-  
 text, and quitted Rome before them.

It was farther concluded that the Allobro-  
 ges, in returning into their country, should  
 pass through the camp of Catilina, and con-  
 firm with him the treaty of alliance by solemn  
 and reciprocal engagements. Lentulus gave  
 them one T. Volturtius of Crotona, to accom-  
 pany them, who had not long before ente-  
 red into the conspiracy, and he charged him  
 with a letter for Catilina, wrote with his own  
 hand, but not signed. It was conceived in  
 the following terms. *You will know from the  
 bearer who I am. As to yourself think of act-  
 ing like a man of courage; and consider well in  
 what situation you are, and what necessity re-  
 quires of you. Engage new friends and new  
 succours of any kind whatsoever, and do not  
 reject*

A.R. 689. *reject even the last of mankind if they can be use-*  
 Ant.C.63. *ful to you.* He ordered the same Volturtius to tell him by word of mouth, “that he  
 “should not think of rejecting the slaves, af-  
 “ter he had been declared an enemy by the  
 “Senate; that every thing was ready in the  
 “city, and that he should make haste to ap-  
 “proach it.” All measures being taken, the letter for Catilina delivered to Volturtius, and the letter and oath for the nation of the Allobroges put into the hands of the Deputies, a night was fixed for their setting out from Rome.

*Cicero in concert with them causes them to be seized with their papers.*

Cicero, informed of all by the Gauls, took the advantage of the imprudence and blindness of the conspirators. He sent for the Prætors, L. Valerius Flaccus, and Cn. Pontinius, imparted the affair to them, ordered them secretly to seize the bridge Mulvius, and to stop the whole train when they should come to pass it. The thing was executed most successfully, without noise or tumult, except that Volturtius would have defended himself and drew his sword. But seeing that it was impossible to withstand the multitude, he soon surrendered, recommending his interests and life to Pontinius, to whom he was particularly known.

*Lentulus and four of his principal accomplices are seized.*

It was a great joy to Cicero to have written proofs in his hands of an horrible conspiracy, in respect to which many people were not inclined to believe him. But, the other on side, he was not a little perplexed concerning the measures he should take, with regard to citizens of an high rank and illustrious birth, who had made themselves criminal in so enormous a degree. He saw, that their punishment would render him odious, and that their impunity would

would ruin the Commonwealth. He took his resolution like a man of courage, and did not fear to sacrifice himself for the preservation of the State. A.R. 689.  
Ant.C.63.

He immediately sent for Lentulus, Gabinius, Cethegus, Statilius, and one Ceparius of Taracina, who had been appointed to go to Apulia to make the slaves rise. The four first came, suspecting nothing. Ceparius, who had been informed of what had passed during the night, had quitted the city. But couriers were dispatched after him, and he was brought back before night. When Cicero saw the principal criminals in his power, he assembled the Senate in the Temple of Concord; and as Lentulus was Prætor, he carried him thither himself, holding him by the hand. The others were brought thither under a strong guard.

Cicero made Volturtius enter the Senate first, who upon the promise of impunity and a reward besides, declared all that he knew. The Allobroges were heard next, and confirmed what he had said. And lastly, the criminals were brought in one after another, were obliged to own their hands and seals; and being confronted with Volturtius and the Allobroges, they could make no manner of defence, and confessed their crime (a). Cicero observes, that among so many proofs, which fully convicted them, there was not any more manifest than that themselves supplied by their change

*They are  
convicted  
in full  
Senate.*

(a) Quum illa certissima stupuerant, sic terram intuebantur, sic furtim nonnunquam inter se adspiciebant, ut non jam ab aliis indicari, sed indicare se ipsi viderentur. III. in Catil. 13.



A.R. 689. of colour, their looks, the air of their coun-  
 Ant.C.65. tenances, and their silence. *To behold them,*  
*said he, confounded and thunderstruck, with their*  
*eyes fixed on the ground, except when they stole a*  
*look at each other, one might have thought, that*  
*they were not detected by others, but that they ac-*  
*cused themselves.*

The folly of Lentulus had arose so high, that he had been particularly determined to this criminal enterprize by a pretended oracle of the Sibyls, which promised the sovereign power in Rome to three Cornelii. *Cinna, said he, was the first, Sylla the second, and I shall be the third,*

I also cannot omit a fine reflection of Cicero's upon the same Lentulus. The Ancients, as every body knows, had no coats of arms, and used for their seals any figure, that they thought proper. The seal of Lentulus represented the head of his grandfather, the venerable old man, who had been Consul, and Prince of the Senate, and in the commotion that C. Gracchus perished, had signalized his zeal for the party of virtue, and the good of the Commonwealth (a). Cicero on obliging Lentulus to own his seal, with reason makes it matter of reproach to him. *Behold,* said he, *the image of your grandfather, a personage of infinite merit, who always loved only his country and fellow-citizens. How came it, that this image, mute as it is, did not dissuade you from so horrible a crime as that which you have committed ?*

(a) Est verò inquam, fig- cives suos: quæ quidem te  
 num quidem notum, imago à tanto scelere etiam muta  
 avi tui, clarissimi viri, qui revocare debuit. III. in  
 amavit unice patriam & Catil. 10.



The criminals having been fully convicted, both by so many proofs, and their own confession, the Senate decreed, that Lentulus should abdicate the Prætorship, and that himself and his accomplices should be kept under a guard in sight, in the houses of particulars. Lentulus was put into the custody of P. Lentulus Spinther, Curule Edile: Cethegus was confided to Q. Cornificius, Statilius to Cæsar, Gabinius to Crassus, and Ceparius, when he was brought back, to Cn. Terentius.

The Senate by the same decree returned thanks to Cicero in the most honourable terms: praised the zeal of the Prætors Flaccus and Pontinius; and even commended the Consul Antonius, for having rejected to enter into any kind of engagement with those, who had shared in the conspiracy; an equivocal praise, which argues what had been apprehended from that Consul. And lastly, it imported (a), *Singular* that *Supplications*, that is, a festival-day for returning thanks to the gods, should be celebrated in the name of Cicero, *that Cicero had delivered the city from fire, the citizens from slaughter, and Italy from war.* This was a singular honour on the like occasion: for *Supplications* had never been decreed except in the name of Generals, who had conquered the enemy sword in hand.

The Senate did not separate 'till the evening. Cicero immediately ascended the tribunal of harangues;

B b 2

(a) Supplicatio diis immortalibus, pro singulari eorum merito; meo nomine decreta est: quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam toga contigit: & his

decreta verbis est, QUOD URBEM INCENDIIS, CÆDE CIVIS, ITALIAM BELLO LIBERASSEM. III. in Catil. n. 15.

*gives an account to the people of what had just past in the senate.*

*They are distributed into private houses to be kept prisoners.*

*Singular honour rendered to Cicero by the Senate.*

A.R. 689. rangues; and after having given an account of  
 Ant.C.53 the whole to the people assembled, he strongly insisted upon the acknowledgment, which was due to the immortal gods, for their protection of the city and empire. He thanked them devoutly for the wisdom, with which himself had conducted the whole affair. He ascribed to their just vengeance the blindness, with which the guilty had been struck in supplying proofs against themselves: Maxims of religion, that are part of the universal tradition of mankind in respect to Providence.

Cicero, however, does not forget the interest of his own glory, and comparing himself to Pompey (*a*), he congratulates the city of Rome on having produced, at the same time, two citizens, of whom the one gave for bounds to the Roman empire, not those of the earth, but the heavens and the stars; and the other preserved the residence and seat of the same empire. But he, at the same time, expresses some uneasiness concerning the consequences, which the present event might have, in respect to him, and prayed the citizens to act in such manner, that if others derived advantages to themselves from their services, his might at least not do him any prejudice.

*The multi-  
 tudexchange  
 disposition  
 in respect  
 to Catilina, and  
 begin to  
 detest him.* This discourse was very well received, and unanimously applauded. The multitude had entirely changed disposition, and then detested Catilina, as much as they had favoured him before. On the contrary, they praised Cicero, as their deliverer, and gave themselves up to the joy of having

(*a*) Uno tempore in hac Republicâ duos cives existit: quorum alter fines velli imperii, non terræ, sed cœli regionibus terminaret: alter ejusdem imperii domicilium sedemque servaret, *n.* 26.

having escaped the most extreme dangers. A. R. 689. Ant. C. 63.  
 What produced this change, was the discovery of the project to set the city on fire. The war had not terrified them. They looked upon it rather as an occasion of gain, than loss to them. But fire seemed a cruel scourge, of which the bounds are not in the power of those who kindle it, and which must have been the more fatal to the body of the people, as their whole estates consisted in their houses and moveables.

The next day, which was the fourth of *December*, the senate being assembled, rewards *Crassus is informed against us having a share in the conspiracy. The informer is sent to prison.* were decreed to Volturtius and the deputies of the Allobroges, for the service they had done the Commonwealth, in discovering the conspiracy. But a new incident occasioned great agitation. One L. Tarquitiuſ was brought to the senate, who was said to have been taken upon the road to Etruria, endeavouring to reach Catilina's camp. This man being interrogated, said at first almost the same things as Volturtius and the Allobroges: But he added, that he was sent to Catilina by Crassus, and charged to exhort him not to be discouraged by the seizing of his accomplices; and only to have the more ardour for approaching the walls of the city with the utmost diligence. The whole senate cried out at the name of Crassus. Many could not believe him criminal: And even those who did, made more noise than the rest, conceiving it for the interest of the publick in the present conjuncture to sooth and soften so potent a senator, rather than irritate him. The information given by Tarquitiuſ was declared false, and himself sent

A R. 63 to prison, 'till he should reveal the names of  
Ant C. 63. those, who had suborned him.

*What part* The part which Crassus, as well as Cæsar,  
*Crassus* had in the designs of Catilina, is problematical.  
*and after* It is certain that they had both been friends of  
*may be be-* long standing of the chief of the conspirators :  
*lieved to* And if we may believe Plutarch, Cicero, in a  
*have had* work, which in reality was not published 'till af-  
*ter the de-* ter their deaths, accused them both of having had  
*sign of* a part in this conspiracy. However it appears,  
*Catiline.* that the deposition of Tarquiti-  
us against Crassus  
was looked upon as false. Some believed it a  
stratagem of Antonius, who, to save the pri-  
soners, was for associating so powerful an ac-  
complice with them, that terror might prevent  
pursuing the affair. Others ascribe the thing to  
Cicero ; whose design, in using Tarquiti-  
us, was to prevent Crassus from taking upon him,  
according to his custom, the defence of bad  
citizens. Crassus himself was fully assured of  
this, or was for seeming so : And Sallust tells  
us, that he heard him say, it was Cicero who  
had affronted him in so gross a manner. I can  
think nothing more probable, than what I have  
said above, that both Crassus and Cæsar had  
some information of the designs of these wretches,  
and let them go on, in order to reap the fruit  
of them themselves.

Cæsar was still more suspected by the pub-  
lick, than Crassus. He indeed had two ene-  
mies of very great names, who had spared no  
pains for spreading and confirming the disad-  
vantagious reports concerning him. These  
were C. Piso, Consul five years before, and  
Catulus, who could not pardon him, the one  
for having very lately exerted himself in pro-  
secuting him as guilty of extortion, the other  
for



for having supplanted him in standing for the A.R. 689. office of Pontifex Maximus. (I shall speak Ant.C 63. elsewhere of this last fact.) If Cicero had entered into the views of Piso and Catulus, Cæsar had been in great danger. For they strongly solicited the Consul, to cause their enemy to be named amongst the conspirators by Volturnus and the Allobroges; and not being able to obtain that, they took upon them to inflame all the world against him by their discourses; in which they succeeded so well, that Cæsar, in going out of the Senate, was insulted by the Roman Knights, who were under arms around the Temple of Concord. Those Knights presented their swords at him, and would have killed him upon the spot, if Cicero had not interposed. Curio the elder covered Cæsar with his robe, and in that manner made him pass through those who menaced him.

Opinions differ concerning the motive that determined Cicero to spare Cæsar. Some have thought, that there were many grounds of suspicion against him, but not sufficient proofs. Others imagined, that Cicero was apprehensive of the enormous popularity of Cæsar, and that he did not dare to include him in the same cause with the prisoners, lest the people should save them upon Cæsar's account, rather than suffer Cæsar to perish with them. Who can expect after so many ages to see clearly into mysteries, that were obscure even to co-temporaries. I keep to the conjecture, which I have hazarded above.

Cicero was obliged to pass the night in a *Anxiety of* friend's house, his own being occupied by the *Cicero. He* Vestals, who were celebrating there the myste- *is encour-* ries of the Goddesses called *Bona Dea*. This *aged by his* wife and sacrifice *brother.*

A.R. 629. sacrifice was performed with great ceremonies, A.D.C. 63. in which none were to administer, or be present, but women; besides which it was necessary, that not one man should continue in the house. During the night Cicero was so anxious, that he could take little or no rest.

His wife Terentia came to him by order of the Vestals, to inform him of a pretended prodigy, which ought much to encourage him. The fire, which seemed quite out, had on a sudden rekindled under the ashes, and blazed out in a great flame. The Vestals had considered this entirely simple event, as an omen of good success and great glory to the Consul. It is not probable, that such a trifle could make much impression upon the mind of a man of Cicero's understanding. But Plutarch insinuates, that Terentia's exhortations were not without effect. She was not a woman of a mild and timorous disposition; but ambitious and haughty, and one, who rather concerned herself in the public affairs on account of her husband, than suffered himself to share in those of his own household. Quintus, Cicero's brother, and Nigidius Figulus his friend, contributed also in reanimating him.

*He assembles the Senate to decide the fate of the prisoners.*

The thing would admit of no delay. The freedmen and clients of Lentulus and Cethegus had concerted measures for taking them by force out of the houses where they were kept prisoners. Cicero therefore assembled the Senate again the next day, being the Nones of December, which he has celebrated so much in his writings. The whole city was in expectation of what was going to be decreed. The people in a body filled the Forum, the Temples adjacent, and all the avenues to the Senate.

Senate. The Capitoline hill was covered with A.R. 689.  
 Roman Knights. That order, which had been Ant.C.63.  
 so long jealous and enemies of the Senate, were  
 reconciled to it as much out of attachment to  
 the Consul, as zeal for the Commonwealth.  
 All the youth of the nobility gave in their  
 names in emulation of each other, to take  
 arms and support the decree, that was going  
 to be passed, by force. All ages and condi-  
 tions united in the same opinion: and never  
 had Rome agreed more perfectly against bad  
 citizens. The partizans of the conspirators,  
 being weak and very little numerous, dared  
 not shew themselves.

When Cicero had brought the affair into de-  
 liberation, D. Silanus, the Consul elect, and  
 who in that capacity was to speak first, de-  
 clared for rigour, and was of opinion, that  
 immediately, and without any farther forms of  
 prosecution, the five prisoners should be put to  
 death, with Cassius and three others, who had  
 fled, as soon as the magistrates should have  
 them in their power. This opinion was fol-  
 lowed by those, who spoke after Silanus, 'till  
 it came to Cæsar's turn, who was then Præ-  
 tor elect. He was not afraid to awaken the  
 suspicions, which had made so much noise,  
 by opening against the execution of the con-  
 spirators. Whether out of amity for them;  
 or that he was desirous to affect regard for  
 the rights of the citizens, that seemed to be  
 violated by an arbitrary and illegal manner of  
 proceeding; or lastly, according to Plutarch,  
 that considering all troubles and factions in  
 the State, as the seeds of what he intended to  
 effect himself, he chose rather to increase  
 the

*Silanus de-  
 clares for  
 executing  
 the cri-  
 minals.*

*Cæsar  
 opens a  
 contrary  
 opinion and  
 is for only  
 inflicting  
 perpetual  
 imprison-  
 ment.  
 Plut.  
 Cic.*

A.R. 63.  
Ant C 63.

the fire than contribute to extinguish it; he expatiated against the unanimous consent of those who had preceded him, and endeavoured to persuade the Senate to spare the lives of the criminals.

Sallust puts a speech into his mouth, in which there is abundance of art. As he perceived, that his auditors were far from being inclined in favour of the party he embraced, and that the Senators, at the same time justly incensed and terrified, respired nothing but revenge; to calm that warmth, he begins with discussing and confirming, both by arguments and authorities, the indisputable maxim, that every man ought to judge without passion or prejudice. *All (a) those, Fathers, said he, who are to consult concerning dubious matters, ought to be exempt from hatred and love, from compassion and anger. The mind, when clouded by such prejudices, does not easily discern truth: nor was there ever man, that could at once reconcile the indulgence of passion and the public utility. If reason be our guide it takes place; if passion, it reigns solely, and reason has no effect.* He applies this principle to the present deliberation, and admitting, that the crime of Lentulus and his accomplices is most horrid, and deserves the severest punishment, he pretends that it is repugnant to the dignity of the Roman Senate not to use moderation, or to let

(a) Omnis homines, P. C. la officiant; neque quisquam. qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira, omnium lubricum simul & atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa ingenium, valet: si lubricum possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet.



the least suspicion of revenge escape it. (a) A. R. 689. *There is, said he, a difference in the freedom of* Ant. C. 63. *acting in different persons. People in an obscure state, if they commit any fault through passion, few know any thing of it : their names and fortunes are equally unnoted. But as to those invested with great power, they act upon a vast stage, and have the whole world for their spectators. Thus the highest fortune is subject to the greatest restraint. It does not suit power to be actuated either by favour or hatred, but least of all by anger. What is called anger in others, in those who rule, is termed pride and cruelty.*

Cæsar does not confine himself to these general reflections. He attacks the opinion of Silanus, as contrary to the laws, that did not inflict death, but banishment, as the punishment of the crimes of the citizens. And as he had studied the maxims of Epicurus, he even advances, that death is not a punishment, but a relief, to the miserable : that it puts an end to all the ills of mortals ; and that beyond that fatal period there was neither joy, nor sorrow.

But he triumphs principally in shewing the dangerous consequences of the examples they are going to set. (b) *Whatever rigours, Fathers,*

(a) *Alia aliis licentia est, in maxumâ fortunâ minima*  
*P. C. qui demissi in obscu- licentia est. Neque studere,*  
*ro vitam agunt, si quid ira- neque odisse, sed minimè*  
*cundiâ deliquere, pauci sci- irasci decet. Quæ apud alios*  
*unt : fama atque fortuna eo- iracundia dicitur, ea in im-*  
*rum pares sunt. Qui magno perio superbia atque crude-*  
*imperio præditi in excelso litas appellatur.*

*ætatem agunt, eorum facta* (b) *Illis meritò accidet*  
*cuncti mortales novere. Ita quidquid evenerit : cæterum*  
*vos,*

A.R. 687. *thers, you shall inflict upon the conspirators,*  
 Ant.C 63. *they have justly deserved them. But you ought*  
*to consider the consequences, which what you are*  
*going to decree, will have upon others. All bad*  
*examples have arse from good beginnings: but*  
*when power passes into the hands of the ignorant*  
*and the bad, such new precedents as have with*  
*justice taken place in respect to the criminal, are*  
*unjustly transferred to the innocent. The Lace-*  
*dæmonians, after having conquered Athens, esta-*  
*blished thirty magistrates in that city, to form it's*  
*government. These began by putting to death*  
*without the forms of trial all the bad citizens,*  
*and such as every body hated. The people were*  
*highly*

vos, P. C. quid in alios statuatis, considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex bonis initiis orta sunt: sed ubi imperium ad ignaros, aut minus bonos pervenit, novum illud exemplum ab dignis & idoneis ad indignos & non idoneos transferitur. Lacedæmonii, devictis Atheniensibus, triginta viros imposuere, qui Rempublicam eorum tractarent. Hi primò cœpere pessimum quemque & omnibus invisum indemnatum necare. Ea populus lætari, & meritò dicere fieri. Post, ubi paulatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos & malos lubricinosè interficere, cæteros metu terrere. Ita civitas servitute oppressa stultæ lætitiæ gravis pœnas dedit. Nostrâ memoriâ victor Sulla, quam Damasippum, & alius ejusmodi, qui malo reipublicæ creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non faciem ejus laudabat? Homines

sceleratos, factiosos, qui seditionibus Rempublicam exaggravaverant, meritò necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnæ initium cladis fuit. Nam uti quisque domum, aut villam, postremò aut vas, aut vellimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam uti is in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita illi quibus Damasippi mors lætitiæ fuerat paulo post ipsi trahebantur. Neque prius finis jugulandi fuit, quàm Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. Atque ego hoc non in M. Tullio, neque his temporibus vereor. Sed in magnâ civitate multa & varia ingenia sunt. Potest alio tempore, alio Consule, cui item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi. Ubi hoc exemplo per senatûs decretum Consul gladium eduxerit, quis illi finem faciet, aut quis moderabitur.

highly rejoiced, and affirmed, that nothing could A.R. 689.  
 be juster than these executions. But soon after, Ant.C. 63.  
 as the licentiousness and audacity of these men in-  
 vested with authority increased, they put many  
 to death at will and pleasure without regard to  
 good or bad, and terrified all indifferently with  
 the dread of the like treatment. Thus that infla-  
 ved city paid dearly for the foolish joy, it had at  
 first indulged. In our days, when Sylla after his  
 victory, caused Damasippus and the like wretches  
 to be killed, who had grown great by the misfor-  
 tunes of the Publick, who did not praise his con-  
 duct? Every body said, that those vile and facti-  
 ous men, the authors of troubles and sedition, de-  
 served the inflictions they suffered. But this  
 beginning made way for dreadful slaughters. For  
 when any one desired another's house in town or  
 country, or a peice of his fine plate, or other fur-  
 niture, he made it his business to get the person,  
 whose spoil he wanted, inserted amongst the pro-  
 scribed. Thus those who had rejoiced for the  
 death of Damasippus, were soon dragged to exe-  
 cution themselves, and there was no end of proscrip-  
 tions and murthers, 'till Sylla had glutted the  
 avarice of all his followers with riches.

I do not say this, added he, because I appre-  
 hend any thing of the like nature from Cicero,  
 or in the present times. But in a great city,  
 like ours, there are men of very different geni-  
 usses and characters. In some future time, un-  
 der some other Consul, who like this may have  
 extraordinary power in his hands, and troops un-  
 der his command, it may happen, that things  
 without foundation may be taken for truth, and  
 false imputations find credit. When a Consul,  
 supported by the example you are for giving to  
 day, shall unsheath the sword in virtue of a de-  
 cree



A.R. 689. *cree of the Senate, who shall hold his hand, who  
Ant.C.63. shall oblige him to act with moderation?*

This was undoubtedly a consideration of great weight, though in the present affair it ought not to have taken place. Such is the nature of human things; the good in them is always compounded with evil, and the wisest counsels seldom fail to have their inconveniencies.

Cæsar concluded in these terms: (*a*) *Am I then for discharging the prisoners, and thereby augmenting the army of Catilina? No, by no means; but this is my opinion. I think their estates ought to be confiscated, and their persons imprisoned in some of the most powerful municipal cities of Italy: that they be left there in eternal oblivion, and no person be allowed to propose any thing either to the Senate or people in their behalf: And, to conclude, that whoever shall act contrary to this decree, be deemed by the Senate to be guilty of an attempt against the Commonwealth, and contrary to the publick safety.*

The speech of Cæsar had a perswasive gloss in it, to which his personal credit added great force. In consequence amongst those who opened after him, several agreed with him. Silanus himself wavered, and seemed inclined to mitigate his opinion. And Cicero's friends, convinced that he would incur less danger by not carrying things to

(*a*) Placet igitur eos dimitti, & augeri exercitum Catilinæ? Minus. Sed ista cenſeo: publicandas eorum pecunias; ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia quæ maximè opibus valent: neu quis de iis poſtea ad Senatum referat, neve cum populo agat: quid aliter fecerit, Senatum exiſtumare eum contra Republicam, & ſalutem omnium, facturum.



the last extremities, came also into the side of A.R. 689.  
lenity. Ant C.63.

The Consul had no regard to the fears, which his friends conceived for him. Solely <sup>Cicero in-</sup> <sup>interrupts the</sup> intent upon the publick good, he interrupted <sup>delibera-</sup> the deliberation, and recapitulating the differ- <sup>tion by a</sup> ent opinions, he weighed them in such a man- <sup>speech, in</sup> ner, as, without expressly declaring himself, <sup>which he</sup> sufficiently shewed to which side he inclined. <sup>shows him-</sup> <sup>self incli-</sup> The discourse, which he had made on this oc- <sup>ned to the</sup> casion is his fourth *Oratio Catilinaria*. In it <sup>side of ri-</sup> he dexterously observes upon an inconsistency <sup>gour. In</sup> or contradiction in Cæsar's opinion, which on <sup>Catil.</sup> one side claimed the rights of the Roman citizens in favour of Lentulus and the rest, and on the other condemned them to perpetual imprisonment. According to the laws, all crimes committed by a Roman citizen, were to be brought either before the judges, who could inflict nothing beyond banishment; or, in very extraordinary cases, before the People, solemnly assembled in the field of Mars, who alone could condemn a citizen to death. Consequently to opine in the Senate upon a criminal affair, which regarded citizens, and inflict so great a punishment upon them as perpetual imprisonment, was manifestly repugnant to the Laws. Cicero does not explain this reasoning, as I do in this place. But he praises Cæsar, who, wisely popular, does not imitate those, that had absented themselves from the Senate, to avoid having any part in the present deliberation; and who knowing that the laws, referred to in favour of the criminals, were instituted for citizens, does not think them applicable to the conspirators, who are no longer citizens, but enemies of the State. It was  
saying

A R 689. saying very clearly, that Cæsar did not admit  
Ant.C.63. Lentulus and his accomplices to enjoy the rights,  
which the laws afforded Roman citizens. Now  
if he could allow himself to depart from the  
laws in condemning the accused to perpetual  
imprisonment, why might not the Senate go so  
far as death, which the criminals deserved as he  
himself agrees?

Cicero afterwards goes on to the other opi-  
nion; and under pretext of justifying it  
from all suspicion of cruelty, he confirms it  
with great force. (a) *What cruelty*, says he,  
*can*

(a) Quæ potest esse in tanti  
sceleris immanitate puniendâ  
crudelitas? ——— Ita mihi  
salvâ Republicâ vobiscum  
perfrui liceat, ut ego, quòd  
in hac causâ vehementior  
sum, non atrocitate animi  
moveor. (quis enim est me  
mitior?) sed singulari quâ-  
dam humanitate & miseri-  
cordiâ. Videor enim mihi  
hanc urbem videre, lucem  
Orbis terrarum, atque arcem  
omnium gentium, subitò  
uno incendio concidentem:  
cerno animo sepultâ in pa-  
triâ miseros atque insepultos  
acervos civium. Versatur  
mihi ante oculos adspectus  
Cethegi & furor in vestrà  
cæde bacchantis. Quum ve-  
rò mihi proposui regnantem  
Lentulum, sicut ipse se ex  
satis sperâsse confessus est,  
purpuratum esse hunc Ga-  
binium, cum exercitu ve-  
nisse Catilinam, tum fugam  
virginum atque puerorum,  
ac vexationem Virginum

Vestalium perhorresco. Et  
quia mihi vehementer hæc  
videntur misera atque mise-  
randa, idcirco in eos qui ea  
perficere voluerunt me seve-  
rum vehementemque præ-  
beo. Et enim quæro, si  
quis paterfamilias, liberis su-  
is à servo interfectis, uxore  
occisâ, incensâ domo, sup-  
plicium de servis non quam  
acerbissimum sumpserit, u-  
trùm is clemens ac miseri-  
cors an inhumanissimus &  
crudelissimus esse videatur.  
Mihi verò importunus ac  
ferreus, qui non dolore ac  
cruciatu nocentis suum do-  
lorem cruciatumque lenierit.  
Sic nos in his hominibus,  
qui nos, qui conjuges, qui  
liberos nostros trucidare vo-  
luerunt; qui singulas unius-  
cujusque nostrum domos, &  
hoc universum Reipublicæ  
domicilium delere conati  
sunt: qui id egerunt ut  
gentem Allobrogum in ve-  
stigiis hujus urbis, atque in  
cinere

can there possibly be in the punishment of so A.R. 689.  
detestable a crime.— And accordingly, Fathers, Ant.C. 63.

may I enjoy with you the good fortune of seeing the Commonwealth preserved from danger and flourishing, as it is true, that if I am a little severe in the present affair, it is certainly not through hardness of heart (for who has more benevolence than me?) but it is through singular humanity and compassion. For I imagine, that I see this city, the glory of the Universe, and the asylum of all nations, perish in an instant by a conflagration, that totally consumes it: I set before my eyes heaps of the dead bodies of the citizens remaining without sepulture in the midst of their country buried in it's ruins. I represent to myself the horrid aspect of Cethegus, exulting in slaughter, and bathed in your blood. But when I image Lentulus to myself, become King, as himself has confessed he expected to be in effect of oracles, Gabinius invested with the purple, and Catilina returned with his army, I tremble, I shudder, in painting to myself the cries and laments of mothers of families, the flight of the youth of both sexes, the Vestals violated; and because all this seems very deplorable and exceedingly to be pitied, it is therefore I act with rigour and severity in respect to those, who designed to put all these horrors in execution.

For, I ask, Fathers, if the father of a family, after having had his wife and children butchered, and his house burnt down by his slaves, should

cinere deflagrati Imperii col- voluerimus, summæ nobis  
locarent, si vehementissimi crudelitatis in patriæ civium-  
fuerimus, misericordes habe- que perniciæ fama subeunda  
bimur; sin remissiores esse est. IV. in Catil. 11, 12.



A.R. 689. *not cause the most severe punishment to be inflicted*  
 Ant.C.63 *upon the criminal, whether he would pass with*  
*you for a man of great clemency and compassion ;*  
*or on the contrary for cruel and inhuman ! As*  
*for me, I should think him most barbarous and in-*  
*ferrible, if he did not seek to assuage his grief and*  
*misfortune by the torments and death of the guilt-*  
*ty. And this is exactly our case at present. We*  
*are to pass sentence upon men, who have deter-*  
*mined to massacre us, with our wives and chil-*  
*drēn, who have formed plans for destroying both*  
*our private houses, and the august abode and re-*  
*sidence of the whole Commonwealth ; who have*  
*undertaken to erect the nation of the Albobroges*  
*upon the ruins of this city, and the ashes of the*  
*Empire, consumed by flames. If we shew our-*  
*selves severe in respect to such men, we shall in*  
*effect be thought merciful ; if, on the contrary,*  
*we are indolent and remiss, we shall be looked*  
*upon as supremely cruel, and almost as accom-*  
*plices in the destruction of our fellow-citizens, and*  
*country.*

As to what regards him personally, Cicero talks like an Heroe. (a) *Consult your safety, Fathers,* says he to the Senate ; *watch over that of your country ; preserve yourselves, your wives, children, and fortunes ; defend the name and welfare of the Roman People. As to me,*

<p>(a) <i>Consulite vobis, pro-</i>  <i>prie patriæ, conservate vos,</i>  <i>conjuges, liberos, fortuna-</i>  <i>que vestras, populi Romani</i>  <i>nomen salutemque defen-</i>  <i>dite : mihi parcere ac de me</i>  <i>cogitare desinite. Nam pri-</i>  <i>mum debeo sperare omnes</i>  <i>deos qui huic urbi præsi-</i></p>	<p><i>dent, pro eo mihi ac mere-</i>  <i>or relaturos gratiam esse.</i>  <i>Deinde, si quid obtegerit,</i>  <i>æquo animo paratogue mo-</i>  <i>riar. Neque enim turpis</i>  <i>mors forti viro esse protest,</i>  <i>neque immatura Consulari,</i>  <i>neque misera sapienti. IV.</i>  <i>in Catil. 3.</i></p>
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*cease*



*cease to spare me, and take no thought for my security. For first, I ought to assure myself, that all the gods, protectors of this city, will favour me according to my desert. And, if ill fortune is reserved for me, I am prepared to die without regret: for death can neither be shameful to a brave man, untimely to one of Consular dignity, nor grievous to a wise man.*

He saw all the greatness of the danger, but was not terrified by it, and consoled himself with the idea of the glory he had acquired. (a) *I know, says he, that I have made myself as many enemies as there are partisans of the conspiracy, and their number is exceeding great; but I despise that multitude, who are nothing but infamy, weakness, baseness, and wretchedness. If however it should ever happen, that, animated by the phrenzy of some bad man, they should acquire a credit superior to your authority and that of the Commonwealth, at least I shall never repent what I have done, nor the counsels I have pursued. For death, with which perhaps they threaten me, is the common law of all men: but a life so glorious, as that with which your decrees have honoured me, none ever attained before. Others have been praised for having done*

(a) Ego, quanta manus est conjuratorum, quam video esse permagnam, tantam me inimicorum multitudinem suscepisse video; sed eam esse judico turpem, & infirmam, & contemptam, & abjectam. Quòd si aliquando alicujus scelere concitata manus ista plus valuerit, quàm vestræ ac Reipublicæ dignitas, me tamen me-

orum factorum atque consiliorum nunquam, P. C. poenitebit. Etenim mors, quam illi mihi fortasse minitantur, omnibus est parata: victæ tantam laudem, quantâ vos me vestris decretis honestatis, nemo est assecutus. Cæteris enim semper bene gestæ, mihi uni conservatæ Reipublicæ gratulationem decrevistis. IV. in-Catil. 20.

A.R. 689. *the Commonwealth good service, but only I for*  
 Ant.C.63. *having saved it.*

*Cato re-*  
*futes*

*Cæsar's*  
*discourse,*  
*and brings*  
*the whole*  
*Senate in-*  
*to his opi-*  
*nion.*

The determinate side of the question, which Cicero supported so strongly, had another assertor in the person of Cato. He supported it with all the vigour that distinguished his character. In the discourse, which Sallust ascribes to him, he begins by observing, that most of those who had spoke before him, had not so much as taken the state of the question; that they had talked as if the punishment of the criminals had been the only point; whereas the preservation of the Commonwealth and of every individual, from the most extreme danger they had ever been in, was the real affair. (*a*) *I call upon you, said he, in the name of all the*

(*a*) Per Deos immortales, vos ego appello, qui semper domos, signa, tabulas vestras pluris quam Rempublicam fecistis. Si ista, cujuscunque modi sunt, quæ amplexamini, retinere; si voluptatibus vestris otium præbere vultis: expergiscimini aliquando, & capeſcite Rempublicam. Non agitur de vectigalibus, neque de sociorum injuriis: libertas & anima nostra in dubio est. Cæpenumero, P. C. multa verba in hoc ordine feci, sæpe de luxuriâ atque avaritiâ nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortalis eâ cum adversos habeo. Qui mihi atque animo meo nullius unquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius libidini malefacta condonabam. Sed ea tamen vos

parvi pendebatis, tamen Respublica firma erat: opulentia negligentiam tolerabat. Nunc verò non id agitur, bonisne an malis moribus vivamus; sed cujus hæc cumque modi videntur, nostra, an nobiscum unâ hostium futura sint. Hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem & misericordiam nominat. Jampridem equidem nos vera rerum vocabula amisimus. Quia bona aliena largiri, liberalitas; malarum rerum audacia, fortitudo vocatur: eo Respublica in extremo sita est. Sint sanè, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales in sociorum fortunis; sint misericordes in furibus ærarii: ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur; &, dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis, perditum eant.

*Gods,*

Gods, you, who have always set more value upon A.R. 689.  
 your houses, statues, and paintings, than upon Ant.C.63.  
 the Commonwealth. If you would preserve those  
 frivolous things, of which you are so fond; if  
 you would retain the leisure and security of in-  
 dulging your pleasures, for shame rouse from  
 your stupefaction, and have some regard for the  
 interests of the State. The question now is not  
 concerning the publick revenues, nor the oppression  
 of Allies: It is our Lives and Liberties that are  
 at stake.

I have often spoke before you, Fathers, with  
 some extent, to complain of luxury and the gree-  
 diness for money, the twin vices of our corrupt  
 citizens; and have thereby drawn upon myself  
 abundance of enemies. As I never spared any  
 fault in myself, I was not easily inclined to fa-  
 vour the criminal excesses of others. But tho' you  
 paid little regard to my remonstrances, the Common-  
 wealth has still subsisted by it's own strength, has  
 bore up notwithstanding your neglect. It is not  
 now the same: Our manners, good or bad, are  
 not the question, nor to preserve the greatness  
 and lustre of the Roman Empire; but to resolve  
 whether all we possess and govern, well or ill,  
 shall continue ours, or be transferred with our-  
 selves to enemies.

At such a time, in such a state, some talk to us  
 of lenity and compassion. It is long that we  
 have lost the right names of things. The Com-  
 monwealth is in this deplorable situation, only be-  
 cause we call bestowing other peoples estates, li-  
 berality, and audaciousness in perpetrating crimes,  
 courage. Let such men, since they will have it  
 so, and it is become the established mode, value  
 themselves upon their liberality at the expence of  
 the Allies of the Empire, and of their lenity to



A.R. 683. *the robbers of the publick treasury: But let them*  
 Ant.C.63. *not make a largess of our blood, and to spare a*  
*small number of vile wretches, expose all good*  
*men to destruction.*

Cato afterwards refutes the expedient proposed by Cæsar, of imprisoning the criminals in different cities of Italy; and he evidently proves, that it was no measure to be taken, and that there was no safety in it. But full of zeal for sound manners, he returns to inveighing against the vices of his time, that had made way for all the dangers, from which they now find it so difficult to extricate themselves. The passage is so fine, that I believe no-body will disapprove it's being repeated in this place.

“ Do (*a*) not imagine, Fathers, *said he*, that  
 “ it was by arms our ancestors rendered this  
 “ Commonwealth so great from so small a be-  
 “ ginning. If it had been so, we should now  
 “ see it much more flourishing, as we have  
 “ more allies and citizens, more horse and foot,  
 “ than they had. But they had other things,  
 “ that made them great, of which no traces  
 “ remain amongst us: At home labour and

(*a*) Nolite existimare majores nostros armis Rempub-  
 licam ex parva magnam  
 fecisse. Si ita esset, multo  
 pulcherrimam eam nos ha-  
 beremus: quippe sociorum  
 atque civium, præterea ar-  
 morum atque equorum, ma-  
 jor copia nobis quàm illis  
 est. Sed alia fuere, quæ  
 illos magnos fecere, quæ  
 nobis nulla sunt: domi in-  
 dustria, foris justam impe-  
 rium; animis in consulendo  
 liber, neque delicto, neque

lubidini obnoxius. Pro his  
 nos habemus luxuriam atque  
 avaritiam; publicè egesta-  
 tem, privatim opulentiam:  
 laudamus divitias, sequimur  
 inertiam: inter bonos &  
 malos discrimen nullum;  
 omnia virtutis præmia am-  
 bitio possidet. Neque mirum:  
 ubi vos separatim sibi quis-  
 que consilium capitis; ubi  
 domi voluptatibus, hic pe-  
 cuniæ aut gratiæ servitis eo  
 fit ut impetus fiat in vacuam  
 Republicam.

industry;



“ industry; abroad just and equitable govern- A.R. 689.  
 “ ment; a constancy of soul, and an innocence of Ant.C.63.  
 “ manners, that kept them perfectly free in their  
 “ Councils; unrestrained either by the remem-  
 “ brance of past crimes, or by craving appetites  
 “ to satisfy. For these virtues, we have luxury  
 “ and avarice, or madness to squander, joined  
 “ with no less to gain; the State is poor, and  
 “ private men are rich. We admire nothing but  
 “ riches; we give ourselves up to sloth and  
 “ effeminacy; we make no distinction between  
 “ the good and the bad; whilst ambition en-  
 “ grosses all the rewards of virtue. Do you won-  
 “ der then, that dangerous conspiracies should  
 “ be formed? Whilst you regard nothing but  
 “ your private interest: whilst voluptuousness  
 “ solely employs you at home, and avidity or  
 “ favour govern you here, the Commonwealth  
 “ without defence, is exposed to the devices of  
 “ any one, that thinks fit to attack it.”

Then resuming his subject, Cato asks those who  
 spoke in favour of lenity, from whence arose that  
 strange security in the extreme dangers, which  
 threaten them. (a) “ Is it, *says he*, that you do  
 “ not fear these evils, how great soever they may  
 “ be? No, you fear them exceedingly: But  
 “ through indolence and weakness, whilst you  
 “ are waiting for one another, you know not  
 “ what to resolve. Perhaps you rely upon the im-  
 “ mortal Gods, who have so often preserved this

(a) Scilicet res ipsa aspera est, sed vos non timetis eam. Imo verò maxumè: sed inertia & molitia animi, alius alium expectantes cunctamini; videlicet Diis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc Republicam in maxu- mis sæpe periculis servavere.	Non votis, neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur. Vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo prospere omnia cedunt. Ubi socordia tete atque ignaviæ tradideris, nequicquam deos implores; irati infestique sunt.
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A R 689 “ empire. It is not by vows, nor by weak  
 Ant.C.63. “ effeminate supplications, that the favour of  
 “ the gods is acquired. It is by vigilance,  
 “ activity, and good counsel, that we render  
 “ ourselves worthy of their protection, and  
 “ prosperity. If you give yourselves up to  
 “ sloth, indolence, and abject timidity, it is  
 “ in vain for you to call upon the gods; you  
 “ only offend, and make them your enemies.”

The conclusion agrees with so vehement a discourse. (a) “ Since then, *says he*, these most  
 “ wicked of citizens, by an horrible conspiracy,  
 “ have brought the Commonwealth into the  
 “ greatest peril, and have been convicted, as  
 “ well by the depositions of T. Volturtius, and  
 “ of the ambassadors of the Allobroges, as by  
 “ their own confession, of having projected to  
 “ burn the city, to slaughter the people, and to  
 “ perpetrate other black and horrid crimes against  
 “ their country and fellow-citizens, I think they  
 “ ought immediately, according to ancient cu-  
 “ stom, to be carried to execution, without any  
 “ farther forms, as manifestly deserving death.”

In this manner Sallust makes Cato speak. But perhaps he designedly suppressed what we find in Plutarch, that Cato addressed himself to Cæsar in a particular manner, and reproached him, “ that by affecting popular airs, and  
 “ a stile of lenity, he was subverting the  
 “ Commonwealth; and that he intended to  
 “ intimidate the Senate, whilst he ought to  
 “ tremble for fear, and think himself too happy

(a) Quare ira ego censeo: cædem, incendia, aliaque  
 quum nefario consilio scele- scæda atque crudelia facinora  
 ratorum civium Respublica in cives patriamque paravisse;  
 in maxima pericula venerit, de confessis, sicuti de mani-  
 hique indicio T. Volturtii festis rerum capitalium, more  
 & legatorum Allobrogum majorum supplicium sumen-  
 convicti confessique sint, dum.

“ in

“ in not being treated as an accomplice of A.R. 689.  
 “ the enemies of the publick ; whose defence Ant.C. 63.  
 “ he was so audacious as openly to take upon  
 “ himself. Cato added, it was very strange,  
 “ that Cæsar should confess, he had no com-  
 “ passion for his country (and what country !)  
 “ that was upon the very brink of destruction,  
 “ and should be so moved as almost to shed  
 “ tears over vile wretches, who ought never  
 “ to be suffered to see the light of Heaven,  
 “ and whose execution was necessary for secu-  
 “ ring the city from slaughter and massacre.”

These circumstances are the more valuable,  
 as there is reason to believe, they are Cato's  
 own expressions, extracted from the discourse,  
 which he actually made, and which was pre-  
 served, as Plutarch informs us, by being taken  
 down upon the spot by writers, whom Cicero  
 had placed in different parts of the Senate,  
 and whom he had learnt the art of writing al-  
 most as fast as people speak, by the help of  
 certain abbreviations of his invention. This  
 art was improved afterwards, and those who  
 practised it, were called *Notarii*. But Cicero  
 at that time supplied the idea, and first trial  
 of it.

Whilst Cato was speaking an incident hap-  
 pened, which must not have inclined him to  
 spare Cæsar. A sealed letter was brought to  
 the latter from without. Cato immediately  
 conceived suspicion ; and imagining, that this  
 might be some secret advice from the conspi-  
 rators, or their friends, he insisted strenuously  
 upon it's being read. Cæsar, who was near  
 him, was forced to give him the paper ; and  
 Cato found, that it was a love-epistle from  
 his sister Servilia, with whom Cæsar had then  
 an

A.R. 683. an intrigue. He was incensed, and throwing  
 Ant.C.63 the paper back to Cæsar, said to him, *Take it, Sot*: and resumed the series of his discourse.

*Execution  
 of Lentu-  
 lus, and of  
 those who  
 had been  
 seized with  
 him.*

Cato's constancy and courage inspired the senate with the same sentiments, who had begun to waver. The decree was formed upon his opinion, and Cicero prepared to put it immediately into execution. He went with the senate to mount Palatine to the house where Lentulus was in custody. He brought him in person through the street called *Via Sacra*, and across the Forum, in the midst of an infinite concourse of all orders of the State (a). The principal senators surrounded the Consul, and served him instead of guards. The people, struck with terror and astonishment, followed in silence: and this was, in particular to the younger sort, a kind of frightful initiation to the dreadful mysteries of a rigid Aristocracy.

When Cicero arrived with Lentulus at the gates of the prison, he delivered him to the subaltern magistrates, who presided in the execution of criminals. He was made to go down into a dungeon, where he was strangled. Thus perished a Patrician of the illustrious house of the *Cornelii*, a man of Consular dignity himself, and one who reckoned almost as many Consuls amongst his ancestors, as persons. His horrid devices caused all those titles to favour to be forgot; and his unfortunate end was the just reward of a life replete

(a) Τῶν μὲν ἡγεμονικὰ τὰ νέων ὥσπερ ἱεροῖς τισι πα-  
 τῶν ἀνδράσιν ἀέλω πειρασ- τείας ἀριστοκρατικῆς τινὲς  
 πειραμύων, καὶ δορυφορίων ἐξουσίας τελεῖσθαι μετὰ  
 τὰ τῷ δὲ δόγμα σφίσι τοῖς οὖτοι καὶ ἀμύβας δοκίμων.  
 τὰ δὲ ἀμύβας καὶ παρρησίας Plut. Cic.  
 σιελῶν, μάστιγας δὲ τῶν



plete with crimes. He had abundance of relations and friends amongst those who condemned him; and his brother-in-law, L. Cæsar, had told him to his face two days before in the Senate, that he deserved death. He was married to Julia, the mother of M. Antonius the Triumvir, a woman of merit and virtue, of whom I have spoke before on the occasion of her first husband. Antony afterwards reproached Cicero with having deprived Lentulus of interment, and refused his body to those who demanded it. Cicero denies the fact, and is to be believed. The four other accomplices of Lentulus were carried to prison by the Prætors, and suffered the same fate.

As these executions were performed in the prison, those who were in the Forum did not see them; and many of the conspirators continued together in bodies expecting the night, and not despairing to save their friends and chiefs, of whose deaths they were not apprized. But Cicero undeceived them, by crying out with a loud voice, *They have lived.* This was the term frequently used by the Romans, to avoid that of *death*, which they thought ominous.

It was night: and Cicero crossed the Forum to return to his house, reconducted by all the citizens in a body, who no longer kept silence, nor observed any order among them, but transported with joy, made the air resound with their cries and acclamations, calling him the *Preserver of his country, and the second Founder of Rome.* The streets were illuminated, every body putting out lighted flambeaux and torches over their doors;

*Expressions of the public esteem and gratitude for Cicero.*

A R 689. doors ; and the women were at the windows to  
 Ant.C.63. see the Consul pass by, and to do him honour.

He moved gravely on, guarded by the most illustrious personages, several of whom had successfully terminated important wars, made conquests, and obtained triumphs. But they owned with pleasure, that if the Roman People were indebted to them for an increase of riches and power, they were indebted to Cicero alone for their safety and preservation ; and it seemed still more worthy of admiration, that the most dangerous conspiracy which ever was upon earth, had been suppressed without any tumult, and with the shedding of so little blood.

Plut. in  
 Cic.  
 Cic. in  
 Pis. n. 6.

It was not only at this instant, that Cicero received such glorious testimonies of esteem and gratitude. Cato in haranguing the people, and Catulus speaking in the Senate, called him *Father of his Country*, a title afterwards affected by the Emperors, but (a) which Rome, whilst free, gave to no body except Cicero. L. Gellius, who had been Censor, says, that he merited a civic crown. That was the most honourable of all crowns in the sense of the Romans ; and it was granted to the person, who had saved the life of a citizen in battle. The Emperors were also fond of that distinction. The civic crown was displayed over their porches, and often appeared upon their medals. But few or none ever deserved it so well as Cicero ; though he had re-

(a) ————— Sed Roma parentem,  
 Roma patrem patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit.

Juven. Sat. 8.

ceived

ceived one for every individual of the Roman people. A.R. 689.  
Ant.C.63.

The execution of Lentulus, and the companions of his misfortunes, ruined their whole party. Nothing remained to do, but to conquer Catilina, who with an handful of men could make no long resistance against all the forces of the Roman Empire. When he joined Mallius with his followers, he had at first only about two thousand men. He soon found sufficient numbers to form two legions compleat, though he refused the slaves, who flocked from all parts to his camp, but who he thought would dishonour a cause, which he was for having pass for that of the unfortunate citizens. Out of this body of soldiers, which might amount to about ten thousand, scarce the fourth part of them had arms. Some had only staves tipped with iron, old spears, or stakes sharpened at the end. Catilina was in hopes, that if his schemes succeeded at Rome, he should soon see a numerous army under his command. In the mean while, he fatigued the Consul Antonius by marches and countermarches, avoiding a battle.

The news of the disaster of his friends was a stroke of thunder to him and his troops. Many deserted, and he had no thoughts himself but of flying into Gaul with those that remained; and in order to that he moved towards Pistorium. Metellus Celer, who had cleared Picenum of all the partisans of the conspiracy in that country, was advised of this movement of Catilina, and marched and posted himself at the foot of the mountains, by which he was to enter Liguria from Tuscany. At the same time Antony followed him at  
the

A. R. 689. the heels. Catilina in consequence saw him-  
 Ant. C 63. self inclosed between the mountains and two  
 armies, the one in front, and the other in the  
 rear. He had no resource left but a battle,  
 and resolved to risque one. He faced about  
 and marched back against Antonius, though  
 the latter was superior to Metellus both by  
 Cic. pro rank and in forces. But Catilina expected  
 Sext. n. 12. something from an old friend, whom he still be-  
 lieved inclined in his favour, at heart. And in  
 reality Cicero affirms, that if Sextius, Antony's  
 Quæstor, and Petreius, his Lieutenant, had not  
 prompted him on, his delays might have given  
 the enemy time to look about him, and perhaps  
 to make himself formidable.

Catilina, before he gave battle, assembled  
 his troops to represent to them the necessity,  
 that reduced them to conquer, or die; no  
 opening for removing from the place where  
 they were shut up; two armies of the ene-  
 my who surrounded them; no stores, no pro-  
 visions. *You are in want of every thing, said  
 he, to them; and must find every thing in your  
 valour. (a) For to seek our safety in flight,  
 and not to turn the arms, which are our sole de-  
 fence, against the enemy, is direct madness. In*

<p>(a) Nam in fugâ salutem          quærere, quum arma, quâ          corpus tegitur, ab hostibus          averteris, ea verò dementia          est. Semper in prælio is          maximum est periculum,          qui maxumè timent: auda-          cia pro muro habetur. Quum          vos confidero, milites, &amp;          quum facta vestra ætumo,          magna me spes victoriæ te-          net. Animus, ætas, virtus          vestra me hortantur, præte-</p>	<p>rea necessitudo, quæ etiam          timidos fortis facit. Nam          multitudo hostium ne cir-          cumvenire queat, prohibent          angustiae loci. Quòd si vir-          tuti vestræ fortuna inviderit,          cavete ne inulti animam          amittatis; neu capti potius          sicuti pecora trucidemini,          quàm virorum more pugnan-          tes cruentam atque luctuosam          victoriam hostibus relinquatis.  <i>Salust.</i></p>
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*battle*



*battle those, who fear most, are always in most danger : boldness is found the best bulwark. When I consider you, soldiers, and call to mind your past actions, I conceive great hopes of victory. Your sentiments, your youth, your courage, fill me with confidence : and, above all, necessity, which makes even the fearful brave. As to the number of the enemy, you have nothing to fear from that. The narrowness of this ground, which I have chosen for the battle, does not admit them to surround us. But if fortune, invidious to your virtue, refuses you the victory, at least sell your lives dearly, and do not lose them unrevenged, and choose rather as prisoners, to have your throats cut like sheep, than fighting like men, to leave the enemy a bloody and mournful victory.*

After this speech Catilina ordered the charge to be sounded, led his troops into the plain, and began by sending away all the horses, in order that the danger might be equal to all the combatants, and the soldiers might do their duty better, when they saw their General and officers, as well as themselves, renounce the resource of a more swift and commodious flight. The plain, into which he had come down, was closed on the left by mountains, and on the right by a very difficult and steep rock. He here drew up his army in two lines, forming his front of eight cohorts, and posting the rest as bodies of reserve, after having drawn out of them the centurions, the old soldiers, and the best armed amongst the new ones, to strengthen his front line. He gave the command of his right to Mallius ; the left to an officer of whom nothing further is come down to us ; and he posted himself in  
the

A.R. 689. the center with his freedmen near an eagle of  
Ant.C.63. silver, which, as he gave out, had served Marius, as an ensign in the war against the Cimbri, and which he treated with reverence as a kind of tutelar divinity.

The army of the Roman people, for it is so Sallust calls them, was drawn up in the same manner. The oldest and best troops formed the first line, and the rest the second. Antonius was not present in the battle. He had the gout, or feigned to have it. His absence did no manner of hurt. His place was supplied by Petreius, his Lieutenant, a man who had grown old in the trade of war, having served thirty years with great glory, either as Tribune, Lieutenant-General, or Prætor. That old Captain knew all his soldiers, and encouraged them by repeating their actions of bravery, of which himself had been witness.

After the light-armed troops had made their discharge, the heavy-armed went on, and without using their javelins charged sword in hand. The old soldiers of Petreius at first tried the enemy by not making any great efforts, to see whether they would give way. But Catilina, followed by a troop of chosen men, was every where, gave his orders on all sides, sustained those who lost ground, caused fresh soldiers to relieve the wounded, charged in person, and at the same time, did the duty both of a soldier and General. Petreius seeing that he could not break troops who fought with such obstinacy, made the Prætorian cohort advance. They were all chosen men, and formed the General's guard. The charge of this cohort was so violent, that it made Catilina's centre give way, and put it into disorder.

At

At the same time the two wings were broke, <sup>A.R. 689.</sup> and lost their Commanders, who were both <sup>Ant.C. 63.</sup> killed fighting with exceeding bravery. The whole army was in the utmost confusion. Catilina saw only a few people around him. Despair dictated the resolution he took; and throwing himself into the midst of the thickest battalions of the enemy, he there found a death, which had been glorious, had he fought for a better cause.

His soldiers had shewn themselves worthy of him. When the victors visited the field of battle, they observed, that almost all their dead bodies covered the places where they had been first posted to fight. A small number had been pushed by the Prætorian Cohort of Antonius; but there was not a single man, that had not perished honourably, and by wounds all received before. Not one, at least who were Roman citizens, was taken prisoner, either in the battle or flight. Catilina himself was found far from his own front, in the midst of an heap of dead bodies of the enemy. He still respired, and retained even in his last moments the air of haughtiness and audacity, which he had always had during his life.

The loss on the side of the victors was however far from inconsiderable. The most courageous were either killed upon the spot, or dangerously wounded. Add to this the horrors usual in civil wars. Those who came to take the spoils of the dead, found some a friend, and some a relation. Some with joy discovered their personal enemies. Antonius, as Dio relates, was proclaimed *Imperator* upon the field of battle: but he entertained no thoughts of de-

A R. 689. manding a triumph, which it, was not the  
 Ant C. 63. custom to grant for victories gained over  
 citizens.

This battle, which was fought near Pistorium in Tuscany, is to be dated in the beginning of the year, when Silanus and Murena were Consuls; and I place it here only to avoid interrupting the series of what relates to Catilina. It still remains for me to say something concerning Cicero's Consulship.

*A Tribune presents Cicero from haranguing the People on quitting the Consulship. The Consuls wait.* That great man was at that time the object of the love and admiration of all the good citizens. But there still subsisted in Rome a bad leaven, which the punishment of the principal criminals had not expelled but exasperated. At the head of these remains of the conspiracy appeared Bestia and Metellus Nepos, Tribunes of the People newly entered upon office; and being supported by Cæsar, who was to take possession of the Prætorship on the first of January, they undertook to harass and distress Cicero, and to excite against him the first gusts of a storm, under which some few years after he was reduced to sink.

*Cic ad Famil. V. Ep. 2.* Nepos acted the most openly of the two: As soon as he was in office, he held seditious discourses to the multitude, and said, that a Consul, who had put citizens to death without form of prosecution, did not deserve to be permitted to harangue the People. He effectuated his menace, and the last of December, Cicero having ascended the tribunal of harangues, to give an account according to custom of his administration (a), the Tribune forbade

(a) Quum ille mihi nihil, nisi ut jurarem, permetteret, magna



forbad him to speak; permitting him only to A.R. 689.  
 take the oath usual in the like case, which con- Ant.C. 63.  
 sisted solely in swearing, that he had acted  
 nothing contrary to the Laws. Cicero was not  
 daunted: and being forced to obey the unjust  
 prohibition of the Tribune, he revenged him-  
 self by taking, instead of the customary oath,  
 one very glorious for him. He swore, *that*  
*the Commonwealth and city of Rome were indebted*  
*to him for their preservation.* The People were  
 charmed with this presence of mind of the  
 Consul; they applauded it, and with an una-  
 nymous cry swore, that nothing was more true,  
 than what he had just affirmed for his glory.

Thus ended the Consulship of Cicero, of *Brief*  
 which I cannot set a better abridged plan be- *Plan of*  
 fore the reader, than by employing the ex- *Cicero's*  
 pressions of Pliny the Elder, who speaks upon *Consulship.*  
 this head with a kind of enthusiasm. He ad-  
 dresses himself to him, as if living and pre-  
 sent (a). “By your eloquence, says he to  
 “him, you engaged the Tribes to reject the  
 “Agrarian Law, that is, fixed settlements  
 “and certain bread. You also perswaded  
 “them to pardon Roscius the degrading dis-  
 “tinction to them, which he had introduced  
 “in the benches and places in the Theatre:

magnâ voce juravi verissi-  
 mum pulcherrimumque jus-  
 jurandum (Rempublicam at-  
 que hanc urbem meâ unius  
 operâ esse salvam): quod  
 populus idem magnâ voce  
 me verè jurasse juravit. *Cic.*  
*ad Fam. V. Ep. 2 & in*  
*Pis. n. 6.*

(a) Te dicente, legem  
 Agrariam, hoc est, alimenta  
 sua, abdicarunt Tribus: te

suadente, Roscio theatralis  
 auctori legisignoverunt, no-  
 tataeque se discrimine sedis  
 æquo animo tulerunt: te  
 orante, proscriptorum liberos  
 honores petere puduit: tuum  
 Catilina fugit ingenium.  
 Salve, primus omnium pa-  
 rens patriæ appellate, pri-  
 mus in toga triumphum lin-  
 guæque lauream merite. *Plin.*  
*VII 30.*

“ You

A R. 689  
Ant.C.03

“ You made the children of the proscribed  
“ ashamed to stand for dignities : The talents  
“ of your genius put Catilina to flight. I  
“ salute and revere you, you, who first of all  
“ was denominated Father of your country,  
“ and first deserved the laurel of Triumph,  
“ without quitting the robe of peace.”

The exclamations of Pliny will not appear extravagant, if the great services, which Cicero rendered the Commonwealth, are considered ; his activity and vigilance ; the prudence with which he extinguished in the blood of five criminals the most horrid conflagration, that ever threatened Rome and the Empire with destruction ; the constancy, that enabled him to awe the most audacious of all mankind, and to force Catilina to quit the city, before he had had time to ripen his enterprizes ; the magnanimity, which made him despise all dangers present and future ; and lastly, the extent of his views for the good of the publick.

*He had endeavoured to prevent future evils, by attaching the Equestrian Order to the Senate.*

For he did not content himself to save the State during his Magistracy, he strengthened and covered it against evils, that might happen afterwards. And there is reason to believe, that if his plan had been followed, the Commonwealth would have subsisted longer, and with more dignity. He had established the Aristocracy, upon the most solid foundations, in supporting the Senate with the whole strength of the Equestrian Order. Those who were for promoting troubles, always proceeded by the channel of the People, who were easiest to be seduced and drawn in ; and the Senate often found itself too weak to resist their attacks. Cicero raised, and aggrandized the power of the Order of the Knights in such a manner,

manner, that it was from his Consulship, according to Pliny, they began to form a third Body in the Commonwealth; whereas before it was reckoned to consist only of the Senate and People. He was of that Order himself, and valued himself upon it upon all occasions. In consequence the Knights, who were personally attached to him, were by him attached to the Senate. They concurred with incredible zeal in suppressing the conspiracy. They entirely devoted themselves to the defence of the Senate's authority. Had this union and concert been kept up, the Aristocracy might have supported itself against the violence of the multitude, and the enterprizes of the seditious. But on one side the irrational and unjust caprices of the Knights, and on the other the austere zeal of the Partisans of the Aristocracy, and especially of Cato, broke the ties of so necessary an union. By this rupture the intrigues of Cæsar, and the mad excesses of Clodius, were in a manner without check, and at discretion. The author of the concert between the two Orders was sacrificed, and sent into banishment; every thing fell again into confusion, and almost into a kind of anarchy, in which force alone determined all things.

The Consulship of Cicero is the highest point of glory to which he attained: And it happened to that great man, as well as to many others; he would have been a gainer by living less time. Had he died immediately after his Consulship, every thing had been shining and glorious in his life without any blot. But it cannot be denied, that the lustre of his success had flushed him too much, and that he expected, on quitting his office, to be the

*Cicero's  
Consulship  
his highest  
degree of  
glory.*

A R. 689.  
Ant. C. 63.  
Plin.  
xxxiii. 2.



A.R. 689. Soul of the public deliberations, and to govern  
 Ant.C.63. the State by his Counsels. His banishment  
 entirely dejected him, and his return did not  
 reinstate him in that Aristocratical constancy,  
 by which he had acquired so much honour.  
 He was reduced to submit to the yoke, and  
 for a time to make his court to Pompey, in  
 order to become afterwards the slave of Cæsar.

*Magnifi-  
 cent games  
 given by  
 Lentulus  
 Spinther.  
 Cic. de  
 Offic. II.  
 18.*

Lentulus Spinther, who was Curule Edile,  
 as I have said before, the year of Cicero's Con-  
 sulship, in the Shews, which he gave the  
 People, surpassed all his predecessors in magni-  
 ficence. Silver glittered with profusion both in  
 the decorations of the Theatre, and upon the  
 habits of the Actors, Musicians, and others  
 who appeared upon the Stage. He was a  
 man, who loved pomp; and it has been ob-  
 served, that he was the first, who wore a robe  
 (a) (*prætecta*) of Tyrian purple twice dyed,  
 of which the price in those days was above a \*  
 thousand *denarii* the pound. He was re-  
 proached for it; and perhaps twenty or thirty  
 years after, there was scarce any one, who did  
 not furnish his dining-apartment with the same  
 purple. The progress of luxury is exceeding-  
 ly rapid: for which reason those, who first  
 set this kind of examples, are much to be  
 condemned, and ought to impute to them-  
 selves the vicious excesses and follies of their  
 imitators.

\* About  
 25 l. Ster-  
 ling.

(a) *Robe edged with purple worn by the Magistrates.*

*The End of VOLUME XI.*

